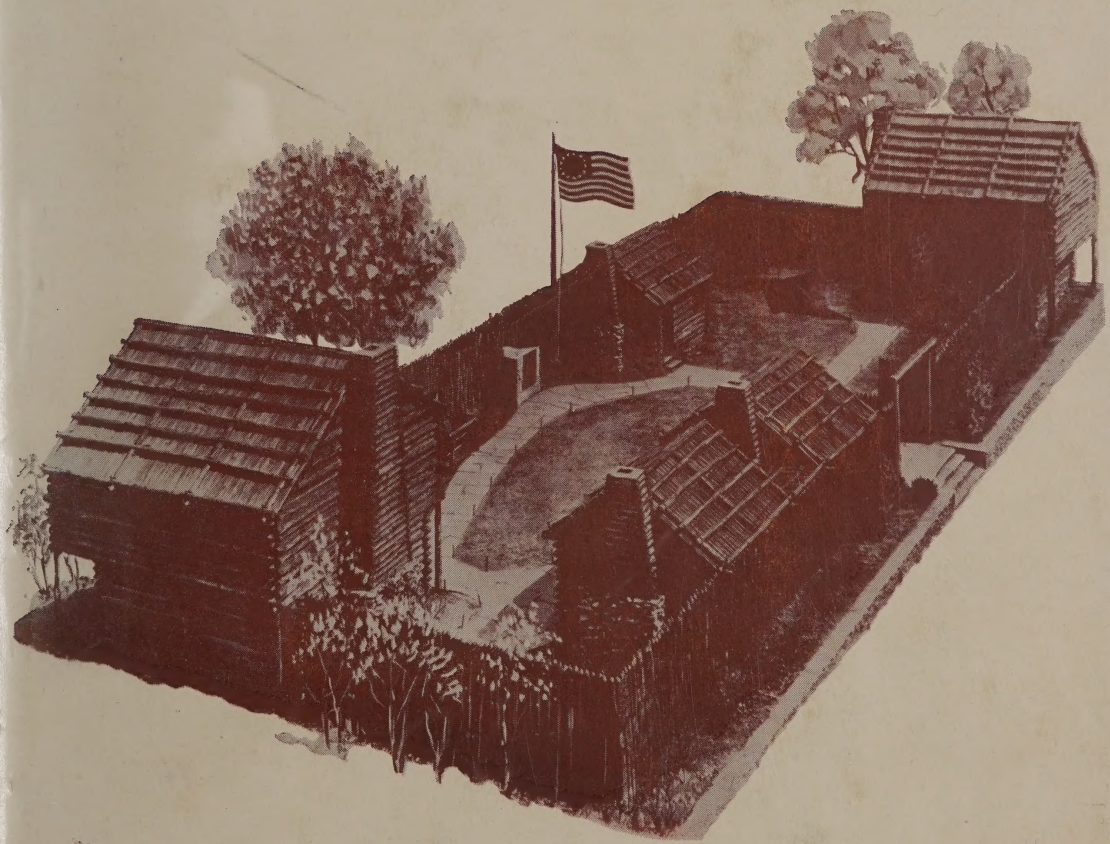
Nashville

Its Life and Times



Jesse C. Burt

Nashville

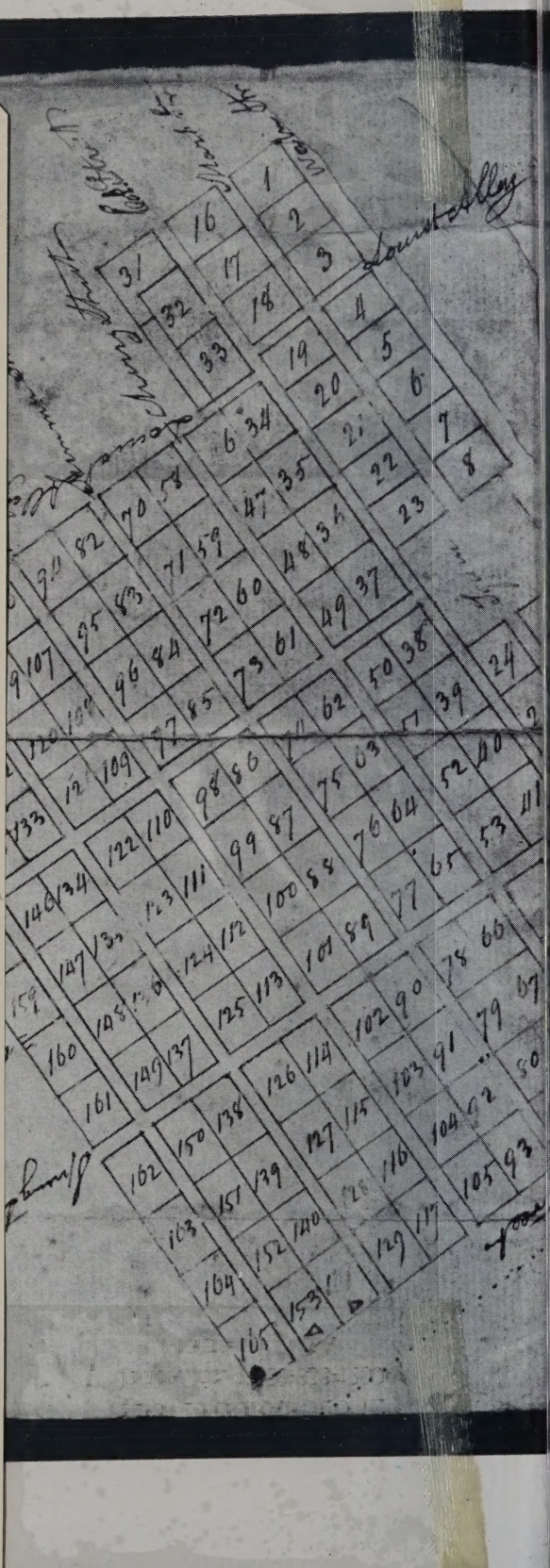
Its Life and Times

FEW CITIES have a more colorful story than that of Nashville, capital of the Volunteer State of Tennessee. Interesting, dynamic personalities, stirring moments of suspense and drama, times of heartbreak, and always the steady growth of the city enliven the annals of "The Athens of the South."

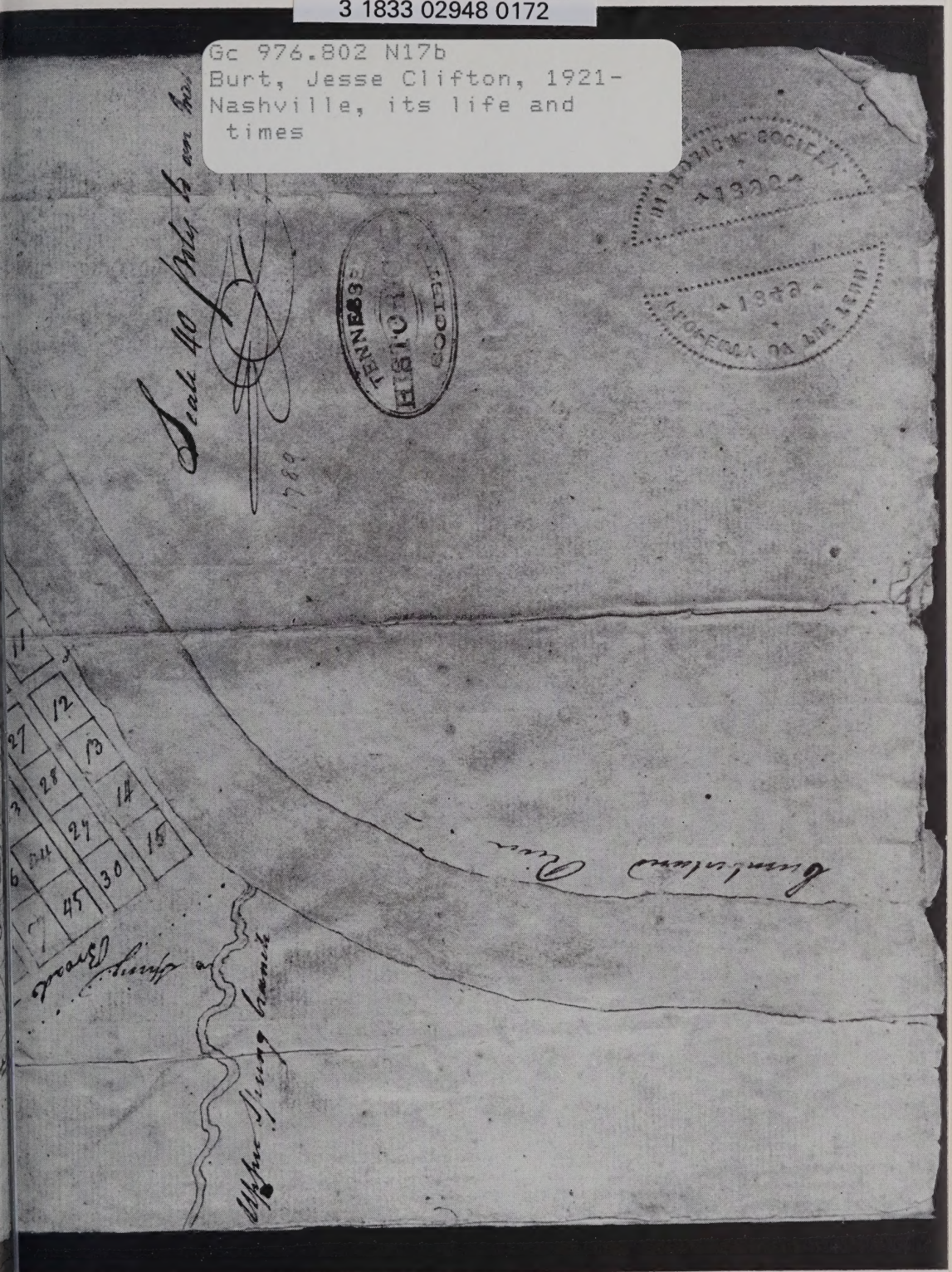
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NASHVILLE, *Its Life and Times*

NASHVILLE

Its Life and Times

JESSE C. BURT, PH.D.

University of Tennessee, Nashville Center

WITH A FOREWORD CONTRIBUTED BY ROBERT T. QUARLES, JR., PRESIDENT, TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1957–1959, AND DIRECTOR OF ARCHIVES OF THE STATE OF TENNESSEE

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For my Mother



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Foreword

MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN ABOUT THE EARLY SETTLEMENT of the Cumberland River country, more especially the founding of Nashville and its development, which is our primary concern. But the stories handed down through the years telling of its tragedies, comedies, and heroics, bear telling again, with particular attention to things as they were, in the light of new facts now known to students.

The story here told, complete for the first time in many instances, by Dr. Jesse C. Burt, is one in which is seen the developing picture of Nashville as a dream by its instigators, a struggling frontier town, a "Western" village, town, and city, and, after the War Between the States, a continuing city, even unto this day. Dr. Burt presents here a story fascinatingly told of the human, dramatic, and often tragic incidents in Nashville's life and times.

It stands to reason that for one to be an all-round good citizen a knowledge of local history is essential, particularly in times of unremitting international tension. Especially is this true if the citizen should be one chosen by others as a leader —whether banker, preacher, editor, judge, public official, teacher, or leader of a civic group. Know the story behind your local community's existence.

Robert T. Quarles, Jr.
President, Tennessee Historical Society
1957–59; Recording Secretary, 1959—
Director of Archives, State of Tennessee

Introduction

THE CULTURED AND MELLOWED CITY OF NASHVILLE has a story of much charm and significance. Here is a general account of that story, not proposed as monographic nor definitive history, telling about life and times as they have developed in Nashville and in its vicinity.

The term *city* is used here according to definitions set forth in the best, non-technical dictionaries, and will mean, variously, important town, municipal corporation with a definite area, inhabitants of the city as a whole, center of population larger and more fully organized than a village, also, urban life and its main aspects. I am writing here for the general, interested reader, who takes the American heritage seriously, who might want to know more about a most interesting place, and who may want to go on and do his own independent studies, out of interest. By and large, I have felt committed to those developments which have had large impact, and whose outlines and character may be definitely studied.

Yet, I have not overlooked another aspect of the city, its intangible features. In the provocative words of Lewis Mumford: "Cities are the products of time. They are the moulds in which men's lifetimes were cooled and congealed, giving lasting shape, by means of art, to moments that would otherwise vanish with the living and leave no means of renewal or wider participation behind them. In the city time becomes visible . . . an imprint upon even the minds of the ignorant or indifferent." [1]

Nashville's significance should be highlighted at the outset: Capital of the Volunteer State for over a century; major center for a variety of services needed by a widening region; oldest, major settlement at a definite place in the historic old West; and otherwise a great deal more vital in war and in peace than population size may well suggest.

Dr. William C. Binkley, a recognized authority, has called for a fresh approach to Tennessee history, one which would

use methods of synthesis and survey, if attempted, and which would show "study of the economic and social developments, which means that the life of the people themselves must be studied," so as to follow the "development of country, town, and community life." [2] These pages are distillations of search in printed and unprinted materials, in a wide variety of types and a number of places, over what now is twelve years.

I am indebted to Mr. Forrest F. Reed for making this book possible; and am also indebted to, among many others, Dr. Robert H. White, Mr. Robert T. Quarles, Jr., Dr. Dan M. Robison, Miss Isabel Howell, and Mrs. Harriet Chappell Owsley; to Mrs. Mildred Bosworth; to Dr. Stanley J. Folmsbee, Dr. John Wesley Hoffmann, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and to Mr. William Herman Jesse, Librarian of the University; to Murray Brosius, Alan Zibart, and Carl Zibart; Carl Dury; Ed Shea, Mrs. David L. Thomas, and Adele Back; Helen Moore Cole and Whitefoord R. Cole, Jr.; Mrs. Rachel Buntin Wilmot; Dr. William T. Alderson; Allen Pettus; J. B. Woods and Everett Smith; Dr. A. L. Crabb and Dr. Felix Robb; W. S. Hackworth; The Rev. Fred Cloud; The Rev. John Lewis Sandlin; and to staff members of many libraries and archives. Mr. Quarles read the manuscript three times, Miss Howell twice, Dr. Robison once; and my wife, the former Eleanor Bales Jones, has read it. Mr. Reed has read it twice. Portions were reviewed by Carl Zibart, Alan Zibart, Mrs. Owsley, Ed Shea, Stanley Folmsbee, Dr. Robert White, Mr. Bill Jesse, and others. I am grateful to all these friends for excellent criticism; responsibility for the text, of course, rests on my shoulders alone. My wife has been a source of cheer and information throughout the writing of this book.

Finally, I am indebted to numerous former teachers, including Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger who tossed off an idea a number of years ago in his famous American History seminar at Harvard that has stayed with me; namely, the positive role of strong American cities in building this country is sometimes obscured by an excessive amount of sensationalism, that this role needs to be made clearer.[3]

The plan here is to have a relatively brief book, which the reader may enjoy on a reasonably high level. There is no doubt in my mind that Felix Grundy, one of Nashville's pre-eminent lawyers, outstanding in the history of this Republic, one who contributed prestige to Nashville, was correct when he said the town was situated in a country in which "honor and the nobler impulses of the heart moved and controlled the actions of men." [4] This book to some degree may show the validity of the great lawyer's remark; for the motivation that the wise and experienced lawyer indicated has done much for this fine, old city.

Nashville today is a continuing enterprise which will have its 180th birthday this Christmas of the Year of Our Lord, 1959. In 1859, one century ago, able Mayor Randal W. McGavock predicted that Nashville one day would attain "that destination marked out by the advantages of position, fertility of soil, salubrity of climate, and the enterprise of the people." [5] In 1959, another Nashville mayor, Ben West, rightly rejoiced over the renewed life and aspiration of Nashville, oldest major city in the State of Tennessee.

1779

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CHAPTER ONE

Land of Beauty, Land of Mystery

PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT KNEW AND ADMIRED the history of Nashville and Middle Tennessee, as well as the history of the original "west" in which Nashville has an honored and an outstanding place. Roosevelt once described Nashville as being situated in "the beautiful country lying around the great bend of the Cumberland." [1]

An Asset

Nashville is well-located on the lines of long distance transportation and communication which have developed, and this continues to be the case in this age of jets. It is located halfway between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico and is midway between the Atlantic seaboard and the plains of the newer West. This location is one of the principal natural assets which versatile Nashville enjoys and it holds potential and promise for the future. Much of Nashville's economic development, as well as its political, social, and even intellectual history, reflects the steady and consistent influence of the location. In large part, this natural influence has accounted for the characteristic of a steady growth of population, as contrasted, say, with a "boom growth." Nashville's story is partly dramatized from its numbers: from approximately 400 settlers in 1779–80, ten years before the start of the Federal

union, to a widely-known and healthful metropolis approaching one thousand times that first enumeration. In short, Nashville is a continuing place, which is my point here in this book.

The Appearance

Much of Nashville's appeal and charm is provided by its natural setting: the limestone rocks, the hills, the river, the many trees. One lookout point for an interesting observation of Nashville's setting and for a quick census of its thriving economy is Capitol Hill. Here the interested person may linger a few moments, long enough to let the imagination play, as he relates himself to the painstakingly refurbished State Capitol, sparkling in a wondrously renewed environment. Here he sees the office buildings of the Tennessee State government, including the Supreme Court building, and a variety of other structures, from hospitals to university towers to the gleaming Life and Casualty Insurance Company Tower, often mentioned as the tallest commercial building in the southeast.

Names on the Land

Picturesque Cumberland River, now being improved greatly for navigation, derived its name from the Duke of Cumberland when it was discovered in the early Eighteenth Century. Of the principal streams of the southeast it is particularly English in its name. Fort Nashborough was established in the cold winter of 1779–80, at the foot of present Church Street; Nashville dates from April 19, 1874, as a name, about six months after Davidson County was named in honor of General William Davidson, like General Francis Nash, a North Carolina Revolutionary War hero. Davidson County was large, about ten times the present 533 square miles of the county.

Nashville enjoys such informal names as "The Athens of the South," "The Rock City," "City of Iris," or "Iris City," and also has been called "The City of Opportunity," "Music City, U. S. A.," "The Wall Street of the South," and "The Printing Capital of the South." Some attention will be given in this book to the origin of some of these nicknames, for they suggest much about the capital of the Volunteer State.[2]

Some Natural Features

Nashville, a mellowed and cultured metropolis, has developed upon a rolling topography which ranges generally at river level elevation of 375 feet to an average of 550 feet above sea level. Several knobs, or hills, rise above Nashville's average level; and one of them, Love Hill, reaches 746 feet.

Nashville is situated on beds of that interesting and historic substance known as limestone, which accounts for the title "Rock City." It is axiomatic in history that limestone soils hold the potential for prosperity and a stable society. The vicinity once was arched or domed, but in time yielded to the processes of erosion in which the Cumberland River and its tributaries and the factors of "weather" were agents of change. Nashville's surrounding hills—often lyrically described by Dr. George Stoves, one of the city's most beloved ministers of the gospel—are vestiges of the dome.

Interestingly, Tennessee's capital is located rather to the northwestern limits of the so-called Central Basin of Tennessee. This Basin is not and never has been lush and fertile in all its parts. Murfreesboro, the interesting and hospitable seat of Rutherford County, home of rapidly-growing Middle Tennessee State College and its nationally-renowned Army ROTC Training Unit, more nearly is located in the geographic center of Tennessee and the center of the Central Basin than is Nashville.

Nashville has not progressed to its present reputation without having endured and survived its share of difficulties, perplexities, and emergencies: cholera, occupation by a harsh army during the War Between the States, inadequate railroad transportation for many years, and even earthquake shocks. A fault in Nashville's geology has been located near the Shelby Street bridge. Should Nashville's basement complex of rocks, 2500 feet or more below the surface, shift, the action could proceed along this fault; however, geologists state that the overall topography, including the river, apparently has not changed appreciably in many thousands of years.

The area of which Nashville is part once was washed by a series of shallow seas. In time's slow unfolding these bodies of water supported a teeming marine life, whose history is entombed in Nashville's familiar limestone. Students of fossils say that Nashville's rocks have an extraordinary interest.

This is not landscape that evokes sudden, stunned reactions. From an elevation of 8,000 feet one may peer down at the curious meanderings of the Cumberland and gradually realize that this is a stream in a mature stage of development, which is true of the countryside which it drains.[3]

Influence of the Springs

Within the memories of living men there were many fine springs in Nashville's area, as well as in the limits of the city, itself. Their waters attracted large numbers of buffalo, elk, deer, and other animals, including predators. Next came a mysterious, vanished race of people, who preceded the Indian, and who had different ideas about how to use the land and its resources. The Indian was largely interested in the game. Next came the French traders, so familiar in history, then the white Long Hunters, and, eventually, the settlers.

The Great French Lick spring, variously called the French Lick, the Salt Lick, and the like, was the most renowned of all the springs. Animals came to it to lap up the salt-yielding waters.[4] Nashville's Baseball Park, or Sulphur Dell, occupies the site of the spring, whose waters now pour into the Cumberland River by means of underground pipes, no longer useful to man. The great herds of buffalo, bellowing, snorting, and thundering over the land, were forgotten long ago. It is the oldest ball park in the nation.

Mystery

The pre-Indian inhabitants, ante-dating Columbus easily, built a stable, well-organized society in Tennessee, and especially so in that portion known as Middle Tennessee. They did many things: built the earthen mounds and stone graves common to the state and the area, raised corn, painted beautifully on pottery, which they fired, and worked with astonishing

skill in flint. One of the most noteworthy finds of flint objects in history was turned up by a plowman on the Link Farm near Duck River in Humphreys County in 1894; and an archaeological team from the University of Tennessee has recently begun explorations in the Dover area. In passing, it might be noted that the *Tennessee Archaeologist* has cautioned tourists and the unwary not to buy too quickly "ceremonial flint objects" known to have been manufactured in recent years for the "tourist trade." It seems strange that there should be counterfeiting in flint, but this is what has happened.

The true makers of beautiful flint objects were swallowed up in time; the Indian could not tell the white man what became of them. This was a strangely vacant, fertile land, one which had hundreds, even thousands, of stone graves.[5]

In about 1710, the French traders started arriving; Timothy Demonbreun, who came in 1760, was the best known of them. Gasper Mansker, a German, Abraham Bledsoe, Thomas Spencer, and other adventurers came next, and their experiences on their Long Hunts, which lasted a season or more, were so favorable that they became popularizers of the idea of settling in what is now Middle Tennessee.[6] Demonbreun, a prized and honored citizen, was a featured guest when the illustrious Marquis de Lafayette visited Nashville in 1825; Demonbreun Street traverses what once was the erstwhile trader's farm.[7]

Mystery, enterprising people, a magnificent natural setting —these are some of the large and foreshadowing elements involved in the beginning of Nashville. British novelist, Hugh Walpole, on seeing Nashville's hills, said that the landscape was as beautiful as any he had seen in the United States. He coined the term "purple horizons" for Nashville's ring of hills.[8]

CHAPTER TWO

Settlement at a Definite Place

NASHVILLE, OR NASH-VILLE, AS IT LONG WAS CALLED, is best understood in terms of North Carolina, under whose mainly casual wing it originated. This chapter will relate information not previously well known; and it lends stature to Nashville's heritage. This is information of 1781–1782 vintage.

Mr. Quarles' Discovery

Robert T. Quarles, Jr., Director of Archives of the State of Tennessee, recently located a document in the state archives of North Carolina which has substantial importance. Mr. Quarles was probably the first person in recent times to scrutinize The Petition of the Inhabitants of the Cumberland River, April 29, 1782, and addressed to the General Assembly of the parent state. This was one of the first instances of the right of petition in Tennessee. The petition makes clear that the settlers, contrary to an excessive amount of romanticizing, knew where they were; they reminded North Carolina of that fact in order to preserve land rights won in many splashings of tears and blood.

Mr. Quarles has most generously shared his notes and new data on the genesis of the Cumberland Settlements (which produced this city). Other evidence comes from Davidson

County Courthouse, the National Archives, and the Library of Congress. To considerable degree it now is possible for the first time to approach the real truth of Nashville's start, that great epic of the western movement. Nashville primed this movement, unique in world history; Nashville's Founder, James Robertson, merits even greater honor than he customarily receives.

The Background

Tennessee's first historian, Nashville's Judge John Haywood,[1] used such words as "danger," "hazard," and "daring adventure" to luminate the substance of the Cumberland Settlements. In the next chapter, the many years of heroism of the pioneers will be indicated, as a solemn fealty due them. Here it may be helpful to remember that heroism has several dimensions. It is not exclusively physical. Nor is it exclusively swashbuckling. Nashville, before there was a nation, before there was a State of Tennessee, originated. It was the deliberate design of middle-aged leaders, persons with large experience, and primarily was an enterprise by families. Nashville was not born in a gold rush, a diamond craze, or a trek into the backwoods, however familiar this last thesis in connection with the origin of the West may be.[2]

A Chosen Site

For reasons already suggested—lush land which was vacant, ample game resources, welling, good-water springs, and others—Judge Richard "Carolina Dick" Henderson, of North Carolina, Colonel John Donelson, of Virginia, who was to be appointed major general in the United States Army by President George Washington, eventually, an imposing rank any time, especially then, and James Robertson, leader of East Tennessee's Watauga Settlement, and others, methodically mounted and staged a river-and-land migratory movement to French Lick.

All too often it has been said they weren't sure of the place. But the '82 Petition makes unmistakably clear that "Carolina

Dick," of Transylvania Land Company, Donelson, an experienced surveyor, and Robertson, a seasoned judge of land and the affairs of men, *knew exactly where they were going, and knew, furthermore, that it was North Carolina territory.*

The Petition of 1782

The Petition indicates that the movement of families to Middle Tennessee had been given preliminary organization prior to the year 1778, at which time it was learned that Virginia was about to set aside land for Revolutionary soldiers. This would of course jeopardize "Carolina Dick's" plans and those made by James Robertson.

Thus, an advance party was sent out to make what may well have been the first survey of its kind in the history of the American west, taking "*instruments to try the latitude and found this place* [Middle Tennessee or 'The Cumberland River'] *to be a considerable distance within the limits of North Carolina from which they were . . .*" Such was the fibre of these pioneers that they did not have to wait for any government to make a survey, but had the ability and willingness to conduct one on their own, which is not the least of the impressive features of this petition which Mr. Quarles discovered in Raleigh.

Having tried the latitude, the advance party then planted a crop of corn, to sustain the settlement which next would follow, and then "removed their families and properties" to Middle Tennessee, a very methodical, prepared change. Moreover, "having long experienced and well know [*sic*] the blessings following from government," they planned to organize their new society, providing for law and order and defense.

The reason the settlers gave the North Carolina Assembly this statement of history, which could have been readily disproved at the time, was to petition the General Assembly to establish their pre-emption rights to the lands they settled. Significantly, North Carolina was thinking of setting these lands aside for her Revolutionary soldiers.

One of the touching features of the Petition is the fact that

it was signed by a number of widows. Their menfolk were slaughtered by the Indians.

As it happens the pages of the history of the West do not relate the prior existence of any similar settlement that could have preceded the genesis of Nashville. Nashville, then, has earned honors over the generations, for having been the start of an imperial expansion by a virile people. Of no incidental significance is the Petition's implication: these people were North Carolinians. They sought North Carolina territory. They were prepared, had the Cumberland site been in Virginia, to seek elsewhere.

In his learned, readable way, Judge Haywood makes clear that the settlements which Nashville started were grounded by law and procedures which traced back to the Reformation and earlier. In essence, they were such as to allow possession and inhabitation of heathen lands. Now the Indians had done no more than hunt in fertile Middle Tennessee, meantime savagely fighting among themselves for hunting prerogatives. That earlier race of developers had vanished long ago. The drift of all this is: the Cumberland Settlements, viewed in their proper frame of reference, demonstrably could not have been anything but legal. This, too, has a measure of significance.

Preliminaries

In June, 1776, a month before the Declaration of Independence, a party of hunters–explorers, including James Smith, Joshua Horton, William Baker, and Uriah Stone discovered the Middle Tennessee stream which they named Stone's River. Even earlier, in 1769–1770, Gasper Mansker, Thomas Gordon, Humphrey Hogan, Cash Brook, Thomas Sharpe, Thomas Spencer, and Uriah Stone had visited the area.

Three years after the Declaration of Independence, James Robertson, George Freeland, William Neely, Edward Swanson, James Hanly, Mark Robertson, Zachariah White, William Overall, and a Negro slave arrived in Nashville, having come from Watauga, now Carter County. They came delib-

erately to select good lands which would have ample water resources, springs. They spearheaded the Cumberland Settlements.[3]

Gasper Mansker and a number of families arrived at French Lick soon after the Robertson party; and John Rains brought the first livestock to Middle Tennessee, driving the animals across the solidly-frozen Cumberland in December, 1779, some accounts state on Christmas Day. Various other companies of settlers were arriving, among them Frederick Stump, Amos Eaton, Hayden Wells, Isaac Rounsever, William Loggins, and others. From South Carolina came John and Alexander Buchanan, Daniel Williams, James and John Mulherrin, Sampson Williams, Thomas Thompson, and others. Many of the first arrivals were mature men, who had left large families back home, to send for them later, after clearing the land. Fortified stations included Freeland's (North Nashville), Asher's (near Gallatin), Mansker's (Goodlettsville), Eaton's (east side of Cumberland River near Nashville), Bledsoe's (in Sumner County), and others.[4]

Leadership

The Cumberland Settlements, stretching about forty miles along the river, centering around Fort Nashborough, were not egalitarian enterprises, but were characterized by having had from the beginning a definite leadership. These pioneers had no doubts as to the blessings of government; and they stated as much. However, these Scotch-Irish and Germans had no illusions as to power, which they took pains to channel, define, and make responsible. To James Robertson (born in Virginia, June 28, 1742), fell the responsibility of leading the military and governmental services which the people promulgated so early, so decisively, and so carefully,[5] as will be related below.

The next memorable phase was North Carolina's accepting the Cumberland Settlements as being the full, legal equivalent of any military undertaking of the old North State in these Revolutionary times.

While we now do well to uncover our heads on July Fourth,

the Revolution, that deadly cold winter of 1779–80, only encouraged a Washington, a Thomas Paine, and a few others. In a sense, the Revolution was a social movement; and middle-aged men with large families to care for, in such times, also contributed by extending that movement into Tennessee. Meantime, these people were 600 miles from Raleigh, site of the only interested government; and North Carolina was being tramped over by contending armies. Thus the revolutionary settlements had to treat with the Indians, and also with the Spanish, who were to the South; for some years, Middle Tennessee was "The Mero District," a misspelling of a Spanish royal governor's name, which was Miro. Finally, on April 19, 1784, North Carolina's legislature passed an Act for the Relief of Sundry Petitioners Inhabitants of Davidson County, completing the circle, and, be it noted, endowing the settlers with the same rights as those of soldiers. The only fountainhead of law which could have operated, therefore, accepted these people as full patriots. They extended the area of an unborn nation.

Among those receiving rights of pre-emption under Chapter LXIII, Acts, April Session, were John Cockrill, Robert Espey, James Espey, John Buchanan, Cornelius Reddle, James Mulherrin, James Todd, Isaac Johnston, John Gibson, Francis Armstrong, John Kennedy, Jr., Mark Robertson, William Ellis, James Thompson, James Shaw, James Franklin, Henry Howdeshall, Pierce Castello, Morris Skean, William Logan, David Flood, John White, Peter Looney, William Collins, Jonas Menifee, Daniel Williams, John Evans, Andrew Thompson, Gasper Mansker, George Freeland, Daniel Johnston, Edward Swanson, Andrew Kellow, Francis Hodge, John Mulherrin, James Freeland, John Tucker, James Foster, Amos Heaton, Dennis Condry, Frederick Stump, Russell Gower, Andrew Erlin or Erwin, Thomas Rater, Isaac Lindsey, Moses Winters, James Harris, John Brown, Lewis Crane, John Montgomery, Stephen Ray, Daniel Hogan, Thomas Spencer, Humphrey Hogan, Hayden Wells, Henry Ramsey, John Barrow, John Thomas, William Stewart, Samuel Walker, David Rouncevall, Arthur McAdoo, James McAdoo, Henry Turney,

Samuel Barton, John Dunham, Ephraim Pratt, William Overall, and James Robertson. These had settled on the land prior to June 1, 1780; sixty-three settlers killed by the Indians in 1782 and 1783 were represented by their heirs or devisees.[6] They paid no price for the land, except entry and surveyors' fees.

Later Enterprisers

Since Middle Tennessee today has two of the best agricultural soils south of the Ohio River, it may easily be understood how it was that men of substantial means soon invested in the land in the area. This was normal and proper and exactly in the grain of economic aspiration.[7]

It has been said that James Robertson was not involved in land developments (in the *Dictionary of American Biography*), when, in reality, he was. On May 13, 1813, William T. Lewis agreed to furnish Henry Rutherford, Richard Hightower, Alexander Smith, and James Robertson 30,000 acres or more of West Tennessee land.[8] This probably was one factor in causing Robertson, an elderly man, to accept a government assignment to go to the Chickasaw Agency, near Memphis, where he died in September, 1814. He would need to watch his lands.

CHAPTER THREE

When Blood Ran at Third and Church

"My friends, of late the question has been repeatedly asked: Why are we here? It is a question that is prompted by the dangers and distress with which we are unquestionably surrounded." [1]

This statement has been attributed to James Robertson and it reflects the desperate position of the tiny struggling Cumberland Settlements, far away from organized law and order, and meeting such merciless assault by the now-aroused Indians that many settlers wanted to abandon Fort Nashborough. Within the statement one senses the high quality of Robertson's leadership, as well as the responsibilities he had to discharge as leader of the government of the settlements.

The Cumberland Compact

Middle Tennessee's first civil government was established by the Cumberland Compact or the Compact of the Notables, signed by many of the first settlers on May First, 1780, with additional signers twelve days later. It provided a strong government that not only dramatized the urgent needs of the hour and the place, but, furthermore, expressed fundamental attitudes, convictions, and values of the people. Clearly, the Compact was a powerful manifestation of the Anglo-Saxon's genius for political organization.

According to the Compact's stipulations, representatives from the stations, or the various individual settlements, were to meet periodically at Fort Nashborough, to conduct there the government, whose function was to provide justice and settle inevitable controversies; protect orphans and widows, provide for the common defense, punish crime, suppress vice, and in general, promote the well-being of the community. However, these representatives were subject to removal from office in case of dereliction of duty or misconduct. More than 200 settlers put their names to the Compact, with only one using an "X"; a few signatures were in German script.

Thus, several traits were manifested, in addition to those mentioned. The document shows the desire the settlers had for leadership (which had to be responsible) and their acceptance of it (if responsible). They were self-reliant (providing for their own defenses, males serving in the militia). They were literate. This is evidence that Nashville originated from the careful efforts of law-abiding people, who took the appreciation of government with them.[2]

Farthest West

Only the imagination can suggest the geographical significance of Fort Nashborough's country in its day. Judge Samuel Cole Williams has well stated that more consideration and contemplation need to be given to Nashville's having so long been farthest west. It, Nashville, helped shape the nation.

Judge Guild on the Heroism

According to the late Judge Jo. Conn Guild, the pioneers had a certain humor about their circumstances, many of them saying, as a community joke: "We used to think we had the devil to pay—and a heavy debt, too, running in long installments." Judge Guild, fine writer and orator on the old days in Tennessee, believed that it was quite true that during the long period from 1780 to 1794—fourteen years—there was one person killed every ten days by the Indians. This substantiates the view of Theodore Roosevelt to the effect that for

endurance and heroism over many blood-soaked years the Cumberland Settlements stand alone in United States history.

With It All, Adventure

At another point this book will tell about Colonel John Donelson's flotilla, which came down the "western waters," or the rivers, to Nashville, arriving there in April, 1780, and bringing whole families. "By God's permission," Donelson inscribed in the *Journal* which he kept on this journey, and he named the flagship, *Adventure*. All of the finer qualities of the settlers were to be put to the supreme test in the spring of 1781 when Fort Nashborough became the prime target for attacking Indians.

The Battle of the Bluffs

In the spring of 1781, a coalition of Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, and Pottawatomies was formed with the purpose of destroying the Cumberland Settlements and this agreement among relatively powerful and separated tribes indirectly shows the historical significance of Middle Tennessee, which was of such importance as to cause the Indians to cease their own strife over the land. Fort Nashborough, center of government, became the center of defense, and James Robertson was leader.

An eyewitness account of the Battle of the Bluffs, of early April, 1781, was written by John Cotten, who was at Fort Nashborough at the time. He was the great-great-great grandfather of Dr. J. W. L. Matlock, who is pastor of First Methodist Church, Hendersonville, Tenn.

It is related that on Monday night, April 2nd, the people sheltered by Fort Nashborough's enclosure were awakened by a shot fired by James Menifee from the lookout tower. Colonel Robertson ("Jamie" to Cotten) appointed John Dunham, Gasper Mansker, Daniel Chambers, Frank Chambers, and John Cotten as special gate guard. Menifee had seen one Indian; seasoned Robertson knew that Indians did not usually spy out a fort, so obviously, unless there were a number of

them. He had Benjamin Belew spell Menifee on watch; and then, calmly, told the excited people to go back to bed.

At early daylight, Indians fired at the fort; and Ephraim Peyton shot back. Young Captain James Leiper, Robertson's second-in-command, who had married Susan Drake in the summer of 1780, in Nashville's first wedding, performed by Robertson, charged out of the blockhouse, priming his rifle as he ran. His wife, incidentally, was the sister of Benjamin, John, and Jonathan Drake, all signers of the Cumberland Compact.

Then, one and all were treated to a curious spectacle provided by two Indians who stood out in the clearing before the fort, coolly, and just beyond the range of the settler's guns, which the latter knew as well as the Indians did. The Indians stood in the clearing at their ease; then they started calling out insults, in clear English, to the settlers, taunting them and mocking them. The younger men in the fort lost their temper and nothing would satisfy them but to take a little chase after the braves.

Robertson Meets a Challenge

These youthful hotheads refused to heed James Robertson's sage counsel to the effect that the two Indians were decoys, setting up an ambush; some question of manhood appears to have been involved, and soon the young men, Captain Leiper in particular, had worked themselves up to such a point that they were ready to tear out of the fort without organization and leadership.

Thus James Robertson made the hard decision to accompany the young men on the chase: it was evidently what the majority of the people in the fort wanted, and so Robertson selected a 20-man party, had them mount the horses which had been brought across the frozen Cumberland by John Rains and later by others, and the pursuit of two Indians began.

Ambush

As Robertson had expected, the two Indians lured the party on, and then simply disappeared in the thick growth of cane.



ONE OF THE FIRST MAPS OF TENNESSEE

Nashville.

in

1804.

Some notes of another resident &c



Four hundred feet from the river, about twenty Indians rose out of the cane and laid a heavy fire on the party. Peter Gill was shot in the forehead, and others who were wounded included John Kesenger, George Kennedy, Alexander Buchanan, Zachariah White, the renowned Gasper Mansker, and James Leiper.

At this point of the affair, Robertson ordered the men to dismount in order to fight the Indians in close quarters. During the affray, the horses, crazed by the smell of blood and the shouts and cries, stampeded and trampled several Indians, but the white men were not hurt. John Cotten, the only man who had a sword, was fighting hard and furiously, and beheaded two Indians in a row, while James Robertson, seeing an Indian about to take Samuel Barton's scalp, fired and killed the warrior.

The Dogs

The fifty or more dogs released from the fort by Mrs. James Robertson (the former Charlotte Reeves) attacked the Indians with a skill and deadliness which suggests they may well have been trained for that purpose, and the large number of dogs present rather bears out the point (and also indicates that hunters need dogs, too). Without hesitation the dogs flew at the Indians and as Cotten wrote: "Such a sight has never been witnessed, for the confusion and noise was beyond words, men and beastes [*sic*] rolling together in the grass, screams of pain and cries of fear, blood flowing from torn throats, arms, and legs."

The Return

At length Robertson got his people back to the safety of the fort, where young Captain Leiper, having taken a rifle ball in his back, died, his wife, Susan, holding his head in her lap, her eyes staring, too full of sorrow to hold tears. Leiper's death stunned all the settlers, for he was a popular young man, who seems to have been selected by Robertson to give youth a voice. Young Charles Cameran, exclaiming wildly, ran out of the fort, took his knife and scalped a dead Indian; then he re-

turned and tacked the bloody piece of skin on the gate with a peg. Somehow it seemed to express the feelings that many had.

The wild and savage "Battle of the Bluffs" occurred at about the intersection of what is now Third and Church.

The Dead

By Wednesday, April 4th, an unseasonably hot day, the stench from outside, from the dead men and the dogs, most of them slain, or slashed, had become so oppressive that a burial detail had to go outside the fort, notwithstanding the chance of another Indian attack, and bury the settlers who had been killed in the battle on the west side of the public square. James Robertson offered a short prayer for them. The Indians and the dogs which had saved the day were buried in a long trench; there was no further attack.

Ending a Menace

In 1794, James Robertson, brigadier general in the service of the U. S., ordered an expedition to go to East Tennessee and make a demonstration and attack-in-force on the Cherokee river crossing towns of Nickojack and Running Water. The Nickojack Expedition ended the inclination of the Cherokee to attack the settlements at will, and at once removed a menace which so long had bloodied the rocks and soil of Nashville.[3]

The Second Fort Nashborough

In 1930, 150th anniversary of the founding of Nashville, a representation of the original Fort Nashborough was dedicated on First Avenue. According to the words of one of the large plaques of this well-known historical exhibit: "This representation of the original fort was built by appropriations from the State of Tennessee, the County of Davidson, and the City of Nashville through the patriotic work of the Tennessee Society, Daughters of the American Revolution and the persevering efforts of the four Nashville chapters, viz: Cumberland, Gen. James Robertson, Campbell, and Col. Thomas McCrory."[4]

CHAPTER FOUR

The World of Young Lawyer Jackson

A YOUNG LAWYER NAMED ANDREW JACKSON CAME TO the Cumberland Settlements in October, 1788. This is the story of life and times of the period in which young Jackson made a worthy contribution to the ongoing of the new community. In the winning of the West, these settlements were highly significant; what Jackson did in Nashville's first, frontier world thus contributed to the overall "westward course of empire" in a particular style and way.

ANDREW JACKSON

In his long lifetime Andrew Jackson was to win many honors: respected lawyer, prosecuting attorney, delegate to Tennessee's first constitutional Convention, first Tennessee representative to the national Congress, outstanding justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Tennessee, planter and merchant, one of the most masterful of generals, president of the United States, elder statesman—and many others. However, his military and political renown may well have made less than evident, to the general student, the fact that he was an illustrious architect of Tennessee's noteworthy bar and bench before he ever led his men into the glory of battle. And this contribution came in the general era which produced Shays' Rebellion in Massachusetts, the Whisky Rebellion in

western Pennsylvania,[1] and, preceding Jackson, more than a little of that practice known as "debt jumping," in Tennessee.

Jackson, as Symbol

In the nearly sixty years that Andrew Jackson was intimately related to Nashville and Middle Tennessee life and times, he accepted and discharged a series of heavy responsibilities which mirror the development of an orderly society, or, to borrow William C. Binkley's suggestive term, "the development of country, town, and community life." [2] These responsibilities were climaxed by the most imposing office to which an American may aspire; and they gave the emerging community of Nashville an importance and a heritage of first order. Jackson symbolized the needs, aspirations, and values of the town and region, state, and nation; no individual ever conferred more importance upon Nashville.

Jackson's arrival in Nashville, in November, 1788, when he was not yet twenty-two, for the purposes of this story, was symbolic. What was this slender youth like? why had he come? what did his appearance at Nashville signify?

Young Jackson

This second lawyer in Nashville's history was drawn to the Cumberland Settlements because of a variety of reasons: he had a certain respect for order, and the people there had organized themselves under the Cumberland Compact. Ever a practitioner of friendship, Jackson's good friend was influential young Judge John McNairy, late of Salisbury, North Carolina, come to Nashville to serve on the Superior Court newly-established by act of the parent legislature. Marquis James indicates a certain bubbling of ambition in young Jackson's veins, a willingness to take on the arduous chores of public prosecutor in Davidson County, but it does no damage to the facts to remember that public prosecutors swear to protect the innocent, the injured, and the wronged, all of which was a lifelong characteristic of Andrew Jackson. This complex and admirable man was one of the first of those in a

long and unbroken line who have found and secured opportunity here through their diligence and service to others.[3]

A Good Traveller

All his life, Andrew Jackson was an indefatigable traveller; and he made a most favorable impression in Nashville because he excelled in the travel arts, which, incidentally, were of the roughest sort in frontier times. There were sixty families, including women, children, and babes in arms in Jackson's party, one of the road arrangements commonly called a "train," in those times; and it had a heavy guard. One night the party had been pushing west toward Nashville for 36 consecutive hours, fearing Indian ambush at every dense place in the forest. Finally, even those vigorous men and women tired, and the party stopped for sleep. The women and children slept in little tents of buffalo hide, arranged about a cheerful camp fire; and the men slept around the fire, with their feet pointed toward the blaze.

Young Jackson did not retire with the others, but sat for a spell with his back against a tree, meditatively puffing a corn cob pipe. Was he possibly considering the significance of this new move, at such a time in his life? Was he thinking of his mother, what she had taught him about honor and integrity? Did he see things in the flickering of the flames of the camp fire?

Whatever Jackson was pondering, his senses were keenly alert to the impact and sounds of the forest; he was blessed with keenest perception. There were repeated sounds of an owl; and gradually Jackson realized they were too real to be natural. Human throats made those sounds.

He aroused a friend mentioned in the standard accounts by Parton and Ramsey as Searcy [possibly Robert], and bade him listen. Searcy agreed that Indians were about, were communicating with each other with owl cries; and at once the party was alerted, and the fire made large. The men seized their rifles and made ready for action; but the Indians, doubtless observing the preparation, failed to attack. Even as a youth, Jackson knew the values of defense readiness; and he

excelled in this trait when president of the United States, establishing a unique record thereby, as will be pointed out later.

When Jackson finally reached the Settlements, he came not without the worthiest kind of introduction, as a youth who kept his wits about him, who probably saved the party from attack. For his train passed the sombre remains of a hunter's camp which had been attacked by the Indians; and all saw the murdered hunters. Nashville was the product of an arena where the scalping knife, the arrow, and the tomahawk were commonplace, everyday words, where the Indians specialized in using the sides of milk cows as targets, and where one of the earliest therapeutic discoveries in the city's medical history was a cure for scalped head.

Jackson and the Donelsons

Upon Jackson's arrival in the Cumberland Settlements he looked for a place to stay and, fortunate for his career, was accepted as a boarder by the Widow Donelson, matriarch of one of the largest and most prominent families of the region. In due time, Jackson married Mrs. Donelson's fine daughter, Rachel, who had come to the Settlements under heroic circumstances.

Colonel John Donelson, long an esteemed leader in Virginia, at the age of fifty-four determined to bring his large family to then-unnamed Tennessee. He had made an unfortunate business investment; and it appeared that his family might disintegrate. By going west, he reasoned, not only would he recoup his finances, but could make a new start which would involve the whole clan, and thus hold it together.

Having become well-acquainted with Judge Henderson and with James Robertson, Donelson agreed to share in the founding of new settlements. With no previous experience, Donelson led a flotilla of more than 30 boats, carrying more than 170 people, down the Tennessee River, from what is now Kingsport, to the Ohio, up the Ohio to the Cumberland, and then up the Cumberland to Fort Nashborough, arriving April 24, 1780. He helped devise the Cumberland Compact; and he

put up a station on what became known as the Clover Bottom, about 1½ miles east of the present community of Donelson, on the west bank of Stone's River. This was later the site of a tavern where Aaron Burr was entertained, where Andrew Jackson had a store, and where Jackson's famed *Truxton* took on Joseph Erwin's *Plowboy*. Middle Tennessee's first cotton was produced here.[4]

This Was the Village

As time passed, young lawyer Jackson became a well-known personage in the Mero District, of which Nashville was the capital. When Jackson came, John Cockrill had just built Nashville's first brick home (916 Cedar Street); and the Rev. Thomas Brown Craighead was in the third year of his ministry to the Presbyterian Spring Hill Meeting House at nearby Haysborough, and also was heading Davidson Academy.[5] Perhaps it should be mentioned that the Academy become Davidson College, then Cumberland College, then the University of Nashville, one of whose products was State (Peabody) Normal School, predecessor of George Peabody College for Teachers. Andrew Jackson was a trustee of Davidson Academy.

Most of the basic institutions had been established: Government, the Church (for example, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, after 1810, Roman Catholic); permanent houses; and the beginnings of trade and commerce. The family as it is appreciated today, at the keystone of society in the broad sense, determined the beginning of this settlement by genuine, family men and devoted mothers. Only lacking were the procedures of the institution of the law.[6]

Jackson's First Contribution

Jackson had been sent for by the Settlement leaders, who knew the need for law and its services. Jackson worked with a will, figuring in 700 cases, from 1790 to 1794, mostly settlement of debt. He won fame for firmness, mercy, and positive action. At Gallatin, a pestering bully deliberately stepped on Jackson's boots. Jackson had warned him repeatedly to go

away; this time he said nothing, but simply picked up a piece of wood and knocked the oaf sprawling.

Nashville's first municipal development came in 1806: Incorporation, building a jail, electing officials, who were Joseph Coleman, mayor, (a noted patron of the developing Middle Tennessee turf) John Anderson, recorder, John Deatheridge, high constable, and James Hennen, George M. Deaderick, John Dickinson, Robert Searcy, Joseph T. Elliston, and James King, Aldermen. Andrew Jackson was a pioneer in helping make the first, major western settlement an orderly, organized community.

CHAPTER FIVE

Of a Brawl, of a Witch

NASHVILLE AND MIDDLE TENNESSEE HAVE NOT LACKED moments and episodes that have been curious. As it happens, two of the strangest events in the history of Nashville and its area had to do with General Andrew Jackson: his brawl with the Benton brothers on the Public Square, in September, 1813, and his encounter with the witch of Robertson County a few years afterwards.[1]

This Was the Town

By 1812, Nashville had a population of approximately 1,200; and was becoming the leading trading center of the west. General Jackson was busy in many activities, running a plantation and a mercantile business, following the races, and otherwise adding to the Hermitage estate that he had begun in 1804. In September, 1813, he was forty-six, and was major general of the Tennessee militia.

The Quarrel

A quarrel had developed between William B. Carroll and Jesse Benton from some obscure origin. General Jackson committed the mistake of becoming involved in this quarrel, by acting as Carroll's second in a ridiculous encounter the latter had with Jesse Benton. Carroll was nicked in the thumb and Benton in the posterior; Benton had to remain flat of his back for several weeks while the subject of much joking and laughter in the area.

Jesse Benton was the brother of Thomas Hart Benton, a young Franklin lawyer of large ability, who, at the time of the comic opera duel, was in Washington, D. C., in part looking after some matters for General Jackson. Jackson had a heritage of trouble from his duels; and many in Nashville remembered the tragic duel between Jackson and Charles Dickinson, May 1806, which had cost Dickinson's life and nearly killed Jackson. Inevitably, the General's role in the Carroll-Benton meeting recalled memories of the death of Charles Dickinson.

A Loss of Perspective

Much sympathy and advice were offered both to Benton and to Jackson as time passed, more than either one of them wanted; Jackson particularly wanted no further quarrel. Parton believes that young Carroll involved him in the dispute much against Jackson's will; and he makes clear that Jesse Benton had a vindictive streak that was more pronounced than his shooting ability.

The whole affair was the preferred topic of gossip in the taverns of Nashville that hot summer; and Andrew Jackson was of a disposition not to enjoy his name's being bruited-about. He was told that Thomas H. Benton had made certain statements about him; and he furiously demanded of the former that he give him his satisfaction. Benton replied harshly that he had given Jackson loyal service, and that he thought it was unseemly for a man of his age to have become party to a dispute between two young fellows.

Thomas Benton ignored Jackson's demands for satisfaction, a credit to his restraint. Alfred Hynes wrote Jackson that Tom Benton, in fact, was behaving himself, though the talk about the duel continued unabated. A deeply sensitive characteristic of Jackson was hurt by all this sensation and scandal: his determination to uphold his good name.

The Brawl

Thirty-one year old Thomas Hart Benton and Jesse Benton came to Nashville in September and took lodging at the City Hotel on the Public Square, opposite the Nashville Inn, where

Tom Benton usually stayed. In fact, he had played billiards by the hour here with General Jackson, and with him had watched game cocks tear at each other in the nearby pit. He chose the City Hotel in order to avoid a possible meeting with Jackson.

But General Jackson and one of his most trusted friends, Colonel John Coffee, who did so much to develop North Alabama and Florence, came to Nashville at the same time and the encounter came about. T. H. Benton was standing casually in the doorway of the City Hotel; Jackson came at him, his riding whip raised. Tom Benton fumbled in his pocket, as if reaching for a pistol, whereupon Jackson drew his pistol, and pointed it at the younger man. Just as Tom Benton was backing into the hotel, his brother, Jesse, aimed his pistol at Jackson, and fired.

Two heavy balls shattered Jackson's left shoulder, and he was also wounded in his left arm. He fell heavily to the floor, bleeding freely. Coffee fired at T. H. Benton but missed, and then came at him to club him with his pistol. Benton again started backing away; and, not noticing, stepped off a step and fell with a crash to the bottom landing.

A large crowd had gathered outside. Stockley Hays, nephew of Mrs. Jackson, ran out of the crowd, drawing his sword cane as he came, and then he lunged at Jesse Benton; but the slender blade broke. Hays knocked Benton sprawling and then leaped on him, his dirk upraised to end his life. Just as the dirk decended, Jesse Benton, with superhuman strength, pulled Hays' arm aside, in a way that saved his life. Then some members of the crowd restrained Hays and Coffee by force. Coffee's only concern was for General Jackson's welfare. (Coffee had shipped a cargo of cotton from Nashville to Liverpool in 1802, operated one of the first cotton gins in Davidson County, and with Jackson and John Hutchings operated the Clover Bottom enterprises. In 1809, he married Mrs. Jackson's niece, Mary Donelson; and he later prevented a schism from developing between Jackson and his in-laws during the Peggy Eaton controversy.)

Jackson was taken from the City Hotel to the Nashville Inn,

and from there to Dr. Boyd McNairy's fine home on what is now Fifth Avenue, site of ten cent stores; and finally, he was taken back to his beloved Rachel at the Hermitage. It is interesting to note that a primary reason for T. H. Benton's migration to Missouri, whose great senator he became, was the brawl; his daughter, Jessie, married John C. Fremont, the Pathfinder, whose father taught French in Nashville in 1814. William B. Carroll, who came to Nashville in 1810 from Pennsylvania, owned the *General Jackson,* Tennessee's first steamboat (1818), and was six times governor of his adopted state. T. H. Benton and Andrew Jackson soon forgot their quarrel; but Jesse Benton, who was largely responsible for it all, slandered Jackson in the presidential campaign of '28.

The Bell Witch

The eerie Bell Witch is said to have made its presence first known at the home of John Bell, a prosperous farmer living near Adams, in Robertson County, in 1817. This phenomenon has been classified as America's most famous ghost. For ten years the witch tormented John Bell and his family—slapping faces, speaking clearly, raving, cursing, sobbing, whimpering, laughing wildly. It sang unfamiliar sea songs, unrecognized hymns, unfamiliar love songs, and broke up the marriage of John Bell's daughter. Sometimes the witch jerked off John Bell's hat and beat him around the head and ears with it. It delighted in doing such things as lowering a bunch of fresh, lucious grapes in the dead of winter through the ceiling of the Bell home.

As the amazing story of the visitation spread, Andrew Jackson and a party came from Nashville, well-equipped with provisions, to determine if the witch existed or not. With Jackson was a professional "Witch Layer," who had a flint lock army or horse pistol, equipped with a silver bullet, and the tip of the tail of a black cat in his equipment.

General Jackson and his party sat down in John Bell's home. Then, to the amazement of all, a feminine voice declared, "All right, General, I am ready for business." The voice

declared to the Witch Layer, "Now Mr. Smarty, here I am, shoot."

General Jackson rolled over and over on the floor in laughter as the Witch Layer looked this way and that; and the witch cackled and howled. After two nights, Jackson returned to Nashville, and never made explanation of what he had seen and heard.

Hordes of people came to John Bell's farm to learn about the witch; and it has been said that entertaining them almost ruined Bell's finances, there were so many. The witch was believed to have poisoned Bell in late 1820; and she disrupted his funeral services with weird cackles and bawdy remarks, notably:

> "Row me up some brandy O,
> Row, row, row,
> Row me up some brandy, O,
> Row me up some more."

The witch continued to plague the children of John Bell until 1850. What was it?

CHAPTER SIX

New Orleans, Well-Timed Essential

"In 1814, we took a little trip . . .
They ran so hard
They lost their pants
And their pretty shiny coats . . ."

In the summer of 1959, these and various other words about the Battle of New Orleans, suddenly required America's crooners to sing about an early era of U. S. history, just as earlier they had been obliged to learn the words of a song about Davy Crockett.[1] Even with the souped-up effects of 20th century electronics and the efforts of the crooners, most of the editions of the old folksong about the Battle of New Orleans conveyed some of the feeling of joy that many Americans had after the British took a licking in January, 1815.

Jackson had 6,700 militia and he lost 7 killed and 6 wounded, whereas Sir Edward Packenham had 14,000 Regulars, conquerors of Napoleon, and out of this had 2,600 killed and wounded. Sir Edward was the brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington, who mastered Bonaparte, but Sir Edward joined the many brave and disciplined Britishers who died at New Orleans, which was to have been a tuneup for bigger things for Packenham.[2]

Andrew Jackson, General

The great rider, Billy Phillips, had blistered the wind in reaching Nashville with the electrifying news on June 21, 1812: "Here's the stuff! War with England! War!" Nine days it had taken him to come from Washington.

People of Scotch Irish heritage probably did not excessively love England, anyway, but Nashville was quite well aware that the British had influence among the Indians and that too many English-made guns were used by the braves. The slaughter of more than 100 white settlers at Fort Mims, near the present Montgomery, Ala., reminded Nashville that its southern frontier was at war. And there were living in the vicinity men and women who had been left for dead by the Indians in the not too remote past, when Nashville stood out as the red man's coveted objective, because it was the farthest that the whites had come. The town, and the state of Tennessee, and Kentucky, too, were ready and wondered why it had taken so long. For the westerners had already tried to help out.

Jackson asked for 1,500 volunteers to go after the Indians but he got 2,500, and they rendezvoused at Nashville. It was in the War of 1812 that Tennessee became known as "The Volunteer State";[8] but in order to get into the war, Jackson had to transfer himself and the militia he led into the U. S. Army as volunteers. Then he loaded his men into big scows at Nashville and they were off to Natchez, at which point they had to return home, as the army did not a mission for them.

On this expedition, Jackson won the sobriquet, "Old Hickory," a tribute to his stamina, and showed that he ranks high as a general officer. He held his men together after a dismal letdown that followed a rousing buildup and he brought them back. In order to sustain the men he had to draw heavily on his personal funds. He turned his horses over to the sick boys, and walked, and thus "Old Hickory" was a term full of admiration and accuracy.

Jackson had not fully recovered from the wounds and loss of blood he had suffered in the encounter with the Bentons,

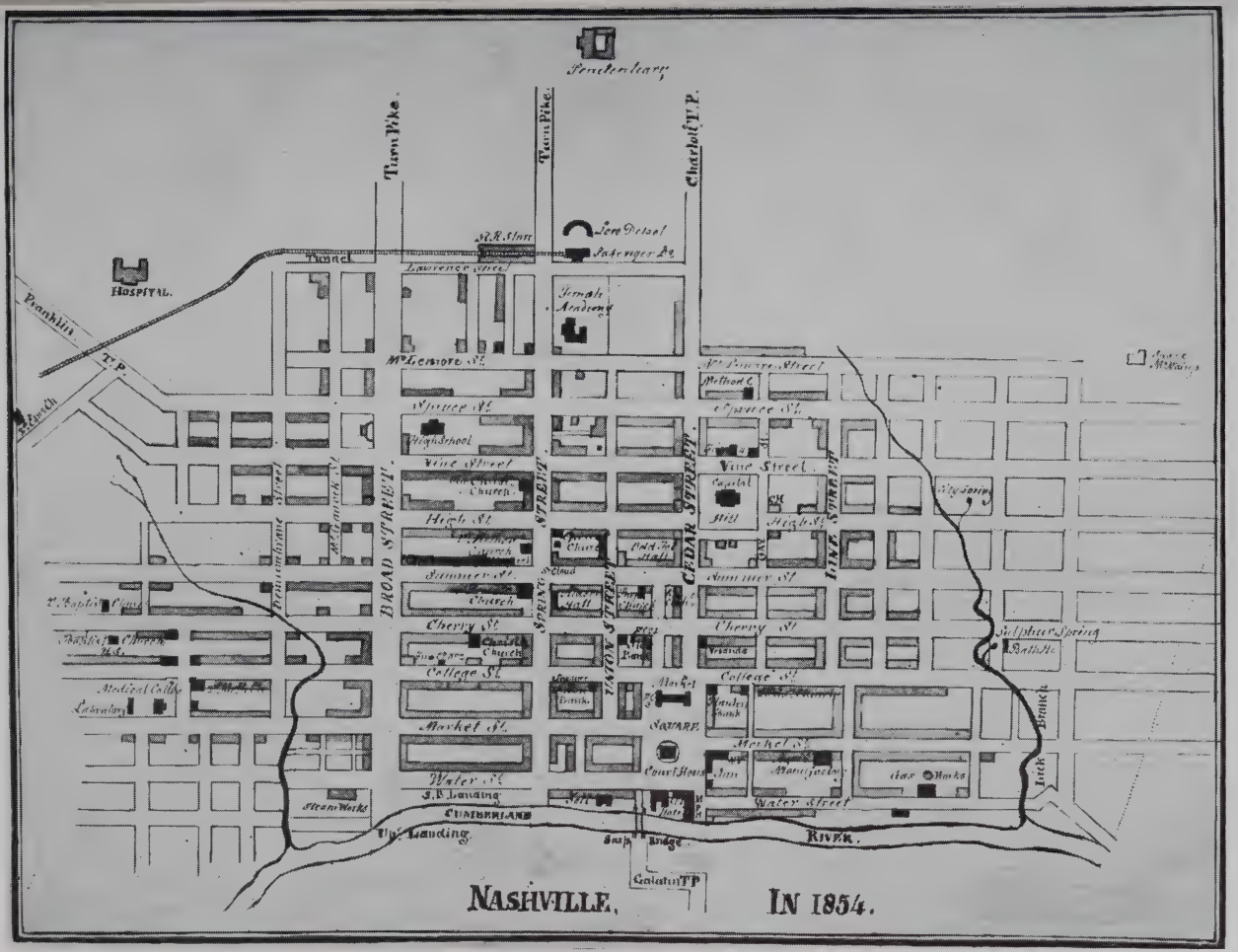
when a delegation of men from in and around Nashville called on him at the Hermitage, and told him the distressing news of the Fort Mims massacre. Without any hesitation, without complaint, Jackson was immediately alive to the peril that threatened Tennessee's southern frontier, and, once again, he was prepared to go. With his left arm in a sling, Jackson called the militia to rendezvous at Fayetteville, and then follow him down into the Creek Country, where a brutal act of aggression had taken place. At the important victory of Horseshoe Bend which followed, a young officer serving under Jackson, Sam Houston, was wounded.

In May, 1814, Jackson became major general in the United States Army; there was no higher rank at the time.[4] He had command of the strategic Seventh Military District, which included Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi Territory (including the present Alabama). In the meantime, peace negotiations had started at Ghent; but this by no means ended the vigor of the effort the British were exerting, as if fully bent on winning this war. As was their right, toward the close of the year, while the negotiators still negotiated, they presented the United States of America with the threat of the last and most formidable attempt to invade the country.

Why New Orleans?

In matters of grand, over-reaching strategy, the Mississippi River has had importance, for here is the central artery of a nation. The French, Spanish, and British all realized this well, as did General Jackson and, later on, General William Tecumseh Sherman. Sherman, for instance, often said that to control the United States, first put a stopper to the Mississippi. Tennesseans were so insistent in the matter of free navigation of the Mississippi River, Dr. Lee S. Greene has said, that they declined to join the Union unless the United States fully committed itself to the policy of a free Father of the Waters.

All of which reflects the carefulness of the British staff work before they marched against New Orleans in an operation which, while an epochal disaster, at the same time



NASHVILLE IN 1854



showed the fortitude and discipline of the British men of arms. New Orleans' memorable results further indicated that Andrew Jackson was a superior American commanding general. He had less than a month's time in which to ready the defenses of a none-too-favorably situated city against the mission of an enemy who had met and mastered Bonaparte. For that matter, the British earlier had burned the White House (the burned bricks were saved and were painted white, thus the name).

Some Textbooks

To this day, some textbooks perpetuate a superficial view of the decisive Battle of New Orleans, to say the least. Two of the most-widely used college texts, for instance, do not well realize its significance. This is not a new thing. In 1927, Reau E. Folk began a searching study of the value of the victory at New Orleans, having been commissioned to do so by the State. His careful conclusions are contained in a report published by the Ladies Hermitage Association, and now on sale at the Hermitage. By direct quotation from the document itself it shows that the Treaty of Ghent did not become operative until ratified by both sides. Our ratification occurred forty days after the so-called Battle of New Orleans which, Marquis James makes clear, was merely the last part of a campaign by the British.

Peabody's Fremont P. Wirth, author of several popular texts in American history, clearly points out, as do some others, that though the battle did occur after the negotiators had signed the document of the treaty, that meant nothing, since the United States Senate had not *ratified* it, which came about in the middle of February, time a-plenty for word of disaster or resounding success at New Orleans to have reached the Senate.

New Orleans, in Review

The formal signing of the peace pact took place on December 24, 1814; New Orleans was magnificently defended by General Jackson on January 8, 1815; and the treaty was rati-

fied by the Senate on February 17, 1815. One of the most widely-used texts points out that with modern communications, there would have been no need for a battle; and then goes ahead to say that, therefore, it had no particular significance. But this same text stresses the importance of the sea victory of January 15, 1815, in which Captain Stephen Decatur bested the *Endymion*. Two days later, however, Decatur was compelled to surrender the *President*, one of our best ships, to the British. In short, in the pages of the same text, the student is asked to believe that New Orleans was rather out-dated, even though it indicates that hot and heavy fighting on the sea took place one week later.[5]

Without New Orleans, the British effectively would have bottled up the young United States, and, having recovered mastery of the sea lanes, it would have been no serious problem to out-wait the U. S. A. Not without reason some historians regard the misnamed "War of 1812" as in reality constituting "The Second War of American Independence"—and, thanks to Jackson, a masterly general, that war ended with a crushing humiliation of the enemy.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Story of an Intimate, Personal Letter

FEW DOCUMENTS HOLD QUITE AS MUCH INTEREST AS a letter, particularly one written in the person's own handwriting. Letters frequently give insight into the sender's convictions and methods; and they often are first-rate historical evidence.

President Andrew Jackson wrote many letters in his career. Many of them have been collected and published, but there were so many that additional collections will be necessary. In the Tennessee State Library and Archives there happens to be a major letter written by Andrew Jackson, in June, 1829, to his old friend, Judge John Overton, of Traveler's Rest, near Nashville. This letter is fresh evidence on an outstanding president; it has not been published.[1]

Jackson's communication with one of his oldest friends is valuable both as to message and to its indication of methodology. It throws light on how President Jackson proposed to handle with extreme care the difficult problem of how to meld the Republic of Texas into the United States. Obviously, the missive has considerable impact; however, the full story of how it came to be available at this time needs to be told before the contents are reviewed.

JUDGE JOHN OVERTON

John Overton came to Nashville in about 1789, from Kentucky, to practice law; and was a son of James and Mary

Waller Overton, having been born in Louisa County, Virginia. He and Jackson boarded together at the Widow Donelson's, and they became close professional and personal friends. Overton once said of Jackson that the two of them started their careers together, ate together, and suffered together. Overton became a well-regarded member of the Tennessee Supreme Court. At the age of 54, in 1820, he married Mrs. Mary McConnell White May, of a distinguished family, and widow of General Jackson's surgeon in the war of 1812. In June, 1821, Judge and Mrs. Overton became parents of a son, whom they named John. The second John Overton married Harriet Maxwell, took an active part in the promotion of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, and, best known of all, started building the Maxwell House Hotel in 1859. Delayed by war, the noted hotel was completed in 1869. Few Southern hotels have a more interesting history; here have stayed Presidents Andrew Johnson, Rutherford B. Hayes, Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, William McKinley, and others, as well as many persons prominent in many occupations of life.

Friendship, Kinship, and History

President Jackson's letter to Judge Overton highlights an important facet of Nashville's story. Friendship and kinship often have been strong, pervasive, and determining in their significance. Many developments in Nashville's history may be interpreted on the basis of either friendship or kinship, or both. It may be to the point to consider some of the factors that called forth this last statement, especially as they pertain to the President's letter.

In 1876, Martha Overton, direct descendant of Judge Overton, married Jacob McGavock Dickinson, whose mother was a grand-daughter of Felix Grundy; Dickinson was a renowned lawyer who owned old Polk Place. His descendants recently deposited his papers with the Manuscript Section of the Archives Division of the Tennessee State Library and Archives in Nashville. In this collection, Jackson's letter to Judge Overton was located—unseen all these years by students, it is believed.

The Loyal Judge

Miss Frances Clifton, in a Vanderbilt M. A. thesis on The Life and Activities of John Overton, indicates that, out of loyalty to President Jackson, Judge Overton had his son-in-law, John M. Lea, historian, as well as judge, and prominent in the affairs of the Tennessee Historical Society, destroy his papers that pertained to Jackson. Professional Jackson haters might in some way have obtained these papers and distorted them for selfish purposes, which is a practice amply demonstrated in life. It was, in short, an act of loyalty.

Incidentally, prior to his death in 1830, Judge Overton became leader of the development of Memphis; as early as June, 1820, lots in Memphis were advertised in the Nashville papers. Miss Clifton quotes Overton's wondering "whether it shall be a decent little town in our day, say 20 or 30 years, or a mere harbor for drunken boatmen." Jackson was an early party to the Memphis development, as was General James Winchester, who found the name for Tennessee's future, largest city in the pages of Egyptian history.

In the large mass of Jackson items that Judge Overton had, one letter managed to escape destruction.

The Letter

Jackson's 1829 letter is written in his own flowing, energetic handwriting. It consists of two large sheets of relatively thick paper folded so as to make an envelope. It has upwards of 100 lines of handwriting, some 1,000 words. He was sixty-five when he wrote this message (Jackson was our fifth oldest president); John Overton was two years his junior.

These were two mature, experienced men, obviously; the letter shows that it was one in a series, which does not seem to have survived. It answered correspondence Jackson had received from Judge Overton.

The letter shows Jackson's deep interest in Tennessee politics, which will not be discussed here, having been well-covered by other writers. It indicates Jackson's personal outlook; and it seems well that this should be made clear. The thought-

ful person will see in this letter an evidence of the large powers held by any president of the United States.

Principally, however, the letter is a major commentary on Texas, when it was on its way toward becoming one of the American states, and, if given a little thought, will suggest how it was that Texas found its way into the Union, the large, sweeping course of events which made this possible.

The Message

Writing from Washington, Jackson admitted, "My situation here has been an unpleasant one. How much pleasure it would give me to see you here, where & when, I could speak freely to you, & when I could have your advice upon many weighty matters."

President Jackson continued, "When I take a view of my situation, behold myself left here alone, without any hope of my happiness here below, toiling night & day, a Constitution already worn out in my country's service, and duly opposed by the wicked & ambitious, I cannot but exclaim to myself why this toil & labor—, & why sacrifice myself thus when I have no hope of pleasure here—the only consoling reply,—my country has required it, and it is a duty I owe to that country to yield to its wishes . . . My mind is torn to pieces by the severe bereavement I have met with."

Texas

"I have long since been aware of the importance of Texas to the United States," Jackson wrote, "and of the necessity of extending our boundary west of the Sabine as far west as the Sabine Desert, which is a good natural boundary. It is fortunate that our boundary has not been run and marked, and from the deranged state of the province of Mexico, I hope we may be able to obtain an extension of our southwestern limits, as I find by the late treaty with Spain, so important to the safety of New Orleans."

Why had expansion into Texas, seemingly so natural, so strategic, and so inevitable, become a political question? Jackson told Overton, "It must have been with the view to

keep the political ascendancy in the north, and east, to cripple the rising greatness of the west. I shall keep my eyes on this object, & the first propitious moment make the attempt to regain the territory as far south and west, as the Great Desert."

Nashville and Texas

Nashville and its vicinity hugely contributed to the Americanization of Texas (the term belongs to Stanford history professor, Thomas A. Bailey). This included money, additional population, and leaders. Sam Houston (1793–1863) had deep connections in Nashville and Middle Tennessee, having read and practiced law in Nashville and Lebanon, represented the Davidson district in the House of Representatives, 1823–27, and served as governor until he went west, leaving Nashville in April, 1829, on the *Red Rover*. He led the Texas army which defeated Santa Anna at Jacinto, and was twice president of the Republic of Texas. Andrew Jackson Donelson, one of the first men from Nashville's area to graduate from the United States Military Academy, and also a graduate of Cumberland College, with additional training at Transylvania University in Kentucky, negotiated the treaty of annexation with Texas, 1844–1845. For a time, Donelson had a law office with Thomas A. Duncan on Deaderick Street in Nashville.

However, all the money and men it took to "Americanize" Texas did not come from the west alone, as historian Thomas A. Bailey shows; there was big support for the annexation of this strategic country-in-itself in Boston, New York, Cincinnati, and even in far away Maine. Even so, the west provided the wise and skilled leadership of Andrew Jackson, chief executive, or the purposeful thrust.

Jackson as Diplomat

As a diplomat, it might be added, President Jackson did not lack in skill and finesse. In 1830, for example, he achieved what was a well-grounded historic objective for American shipping interests, full freedom of trade with the transfer points of the British West Indies. Then, in February, 1833, the French began payment of claims the United States had made

for losses to its shipping during the Napoleonic Wars; and at the same time the French gave up their hollow, yet annoying, reinterpretation of the Louisiana Purchase, which had the effect of giving the U. S. A. an unclouded title to a princely territory. This ended for all time any further pretense that Europe's monarchs had for ownership of the national domain; and it will be recalled that when the country was embroiled in fratricidal conflict Maximilian, under French auspices, and after France had partially conquered Mexico, took the throne of that country. Thus, Europe's desire for the North American continent was real and long-established.

Jackson was a superb diplomat, knowing how to suggest the possibility of force, knowing how to wait (Texas was recognized the last day of his administration, a year after San Jacinto), and particularly knowing how to keep his eye on an object. No other Chief Executive ranks so high both in diplomacy and in military achievement as Tennessee's Old Hickory.

The Later Hermitage and Traveler's Rest

On February 19, 1889, Mrs. Rachel J. Lawrence, Mary W. May, Mrs. Mary Hadly Clare, Mrs. E. L. Nicholson, Miss Louise Grundy Lindsley, Mrs. Henry Heiss, and Mrs. Mary C. Dorris were granted charter by the state of Tennessee for the Ladies Hermitage Association. To this day, the Association maintains the Hermitage and its treasures as a major, historical shrine. The existence of the Hermitage is a noble indication of the value of stewardship in preserving the past so that its inspiration may continue unblemished to the present.

In 1954, the Louisville and Nashville Railroad deeded Traveler's Rest and adjacent grounds to the Tennessee association of the National Society of Colonial Dames in America. The Colonial Dames have developed this historic home into a historical museum which may be visited by the public. It rather stirs the emotions to visit Judge Overton's former home and realize that, 130 years ago the President of the United States sent a letter to Traveler's Rest that revealed his most intimate plans and feelings.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Capital of Manifest Destiny

FOR AT LEAST A GENERATION, NASHVILLE WAS ONE OF the leading political centers of the developing American nation. During the exciting period of territorial expansion, generally known as the "Manifest Destiny" era, Nashville in effect was the national capital. Its men were leaders in giving reality to the belief that the Republic, manifestly, was destined not to be content with the Mississippi as boundary, but with nothing less than the blue waters of the Pacific. They led in building a nation that stretched from ocean to ocean for the first time in the history of the world.

Andrew Jackson was one of the few men to run three times for the presidency, and each time, he had the largest vote, but lost in 1824, due to the laws of the day. He handpicked his successor, Martin Van Buren. James Knox Polk, of Nashville and Columbia, from 1845 to 1849, continued Jackson's expansionist hopes, and climaxed "Manifest Destiny" more than any other man.[1]

ATHENS OF THE SOUTH

When Philip Lindsley called Nashville "The Athens of the South" he undoubtedly referred to its political role, as well as to education and culture; for Athens, Greece was outstanding in a number of realms of endeavor. Lindsley was chancellor of the University of Nashville from 1824, until 1855.

By the 1840's, when Manifest Destiny was at flower, Nashville was enjoying a finely-styled way of life which gave it a large reputation. As early as 1827, a lawyer there noted that Nashville was becoming a city that relished good living. He wrote a friend in North Carolina that "Nashville is the most extravagant place I have ever seen." He advised his friend not to come to Nashville to practice law, for, "as to expenses of living—they are enormous. Your house rent, including an office, would amount to $500."

What contributed to Nashville's rise to fame as the leading city of the West? What factors contributed to this status, aside from the exertions of its native and adopted sons? A working answer to these questions may be provided by a short review of the main, natural feature of the city's history.

Location and Tradition

In the summer of 1784, the question came up of moving the Superior Court from Nashville; and this was the subject of correspondence between James Robertson and Governor John Sevier, who evidently had solicited Robertson's opinion on the matter. August 15, 1784, Robertson wrote Sevier an expert statement of the natural features of Nashville's location; and these features have by no means lost their influence.

As might be expected, Robertson strongly advised against moving the Court from Nashville, for doing so would damage the significance of the place. Even so, Robertson explained, "The situation & Convenience of that place deserves encouragement." Then he gave an expert's reasons why this was the case: Nashville was as well-located as any center could be. It was on a navigable river; it was centrally-placed in relationship to a fertile, agricultural region soon to attract a large population, which would inevitably require a well-located court. Sevier could check this out: just north of the place were "Barren Lands," not likely to fill up soon; to the west the land was unorganized; to the south the title was not clear; and, of course, Sevier would not want to pull the court back in the direction of Nashville.[2]

Though Robertson carried the argument, Nashville's role

as a government center did not go unquestioned. For instance, the North Carolina Archives in Raleigh have a Petition of the Inhabitants on the waters of Red River and parts in Davidson County, dated November 7, 1788, one year before ratification of the U. S. Constitution, asking the General Assembly to divide Davidson County. The petitioners pointed out the difficulties of going to Nashville for the settlement of legal matters. In 1786, 1788, 1796, and in other years proposals for division, and division, itself, either were offered, or made, or both.

Thus, original factors of location, which largely reflected keen appraisal of geographical resources, were the ingredients for Nashville's traditional role as political-governmental center. In time of civil war, Nashville's political importance was fiercely resented by East Tennessee, as will be discussed in a later chapter.

In the meantime, Nashville's men of politics deepened the tradition to such an extent that Nashville was not unlike a national capital.

Felix Grundy

Felix Grundy moved to Nashville in 1807, resigning his position as chief justice of the Kentucky Supreme Court, to come to the now well-known town. From 1811 to 1814, Grundy served in the U. S. House of Representatives; and he was one of the first Nashvillians to earn national political importance, as a powerful supporter of the War of 1812. He later served as U. S. Senator and as U. S. Attorney General. One of the pre-eminent lawyers of his time, his large practice covered several states, and thereby enhanced Nashville's reputation. He built the home which later became Polk Place in Nashville; his wife in July, 1820, founded Nashville's first Sunday School, predecessor in a long line of works which have given the city an international reputation.

The Great Expansionist

One of the young lawyers who were trained by Felix Grundy was James Knox Polk. Polk married Sarah Childress, daughter of Major Joel Childress, wealthy land owner in Rutherford

County, remembered for having given General Jackson the full dress uniform he wore to a social affair in New Orleans. After serving in the State Legislature, Polk was elected to the House of Representatives where he remained from 1825 to 1839, and won stature as an able Speaker of the House, a key political assignment. Governor of Tennessee from 1839 to 1841, he lost two campaigns for re-election, but then, extraordinarily, was elected president, even though he failed to carry his own state. His administration saw the United States enlarge its area by almost one third.



During Polk's single term, the Mexican Cession added nearly 500,000 square miles, the Oregon Country added 200,000 square miles, and the 300,000 square miles of Texas were formally annexed. No other Chief Executive saw the nation through such a period of enlargement.

It could be argued with considerable effect that the founding of the Cumberland Settlements in 1779–1780, was a milestone on the way to the blue waters of the Pacific. These settlements were "farthest west," and they attracted a long list of men whose intimate, individual lives were personal sagas of the westward movement. For instance, Polk as a boy came to near Columbia with his family, migrating from North Carolina.

The Death of Polk

Andrew Jackson reputedly left the White House with just ninety dollars, while another "Nashville president," Andrew Johnson, quit the national capital with few friends and many enemies. Polk's arduous labors during the expansion broke his health so that he fell a victim of cholera, dying at Polk Place in Nashville in June, 1849. He was survived many years by his widow. After her passing in 1891, her remains and those of her husband were placed in the Polk Tomb on the State Capitol grounds as an act of homage and love from the people of Tennessee.

The site of Polk Place, between Seventh and Eighth, in Nashville is to be occupied by a large motel and parking lot, but the ancestral home of the Eleventh President yet survives

in the friendly city of Columbia. Here the appreciative visitor sees objects which the Polks used in the White House and in Polk Place. The home is maintained by the Polk Memorial Association, the Polk Memorial Assembly of Columbia, and the State of Tennessee.

CHAPTER NINE

A City, Yet a Town

ESTABLISHING THE YEAR WHEN NASHVILLE BECAME a *city,* can be accomplished with precision. Wilkins Tannehill, one-time mayor, Masonic leader, talented writer and editor,[1] published in Nashville a periodical known as *The Portfolio or Journal of Freemasonry,* which happens to be one of the best sources for learning about Nashville in the 1840's. Author of such books as *Sketches of the History of Literature,* published in Nashville in 1827, and suggesting the level of culture there, with interest in world literature and criticism, Tannehill filled *The Portfolio* with delightful nuggets about Nashville. In August, 1848, Tannehill observed:

"The last General Assembly of this State, taking into consideration its present population, its prosperous condition, and its future prospects; and considering also that it is the metropolis of the State, and that on the summit of one of its beautiful hills is being raised the State capitol, whose chambers are henceforth to resound with patriotic eloquence—the General Assembly, we say, declared it a city by statute.

THIS WAS THE CITY

The '37 depression was forgotten in the fat fifties; in 1860, 25,000 bales of cotton were shipped out. Nashville was the vital division or transfer point for lighter vessels to go up the Cumberland to Carthage, 120 miles away. And the time from Nashville to New Orleans, over 1,200 miles by river, was being clipped down to six racing days. There were fine, macadamized roads stemming out of Nashville to Franklin

and Columbia, Mufreesboro and Shelbyville, to Charlotte (named after Mrs. James Robertson), to Gallatin, and Nolensville, and one was being completed to the Kentucky line. These roads signified that Nashville understood the factor of location; as early as November, 1834, for instance, Washington Barrow, editor of the Nashville *Republican*, had strongly emphasized that the growth of Nashville depended on how well the city's leaders developed the natural potential, how well they made the most of location and tradition. By the 1850's, Nashville was the leading service city of the relatively large agricultural region of Middle Tennessee, and had a brisk trade with northern Alabama and Southern Kentucky, an interesting, early adjustment by an American community to its natural site.

The population had grown steadily, if non-explosively: 345 in 1800; 400 in 1810; 1,500 in 1820; 5,566 in 1830; 6,629 in 1840; 10,165 in 1850. The total would reach 16,988 in 1860,[2] and then, during the war years, would attain some 70,000, exclusive of the military, Nashville's time of greatest population increase.

By the 1850's, Nashville had evolved a way of life, its distinguished families, and basic institutions and services, including schools and colleges, a cadre of nationally-prominent physicians, agriculturalists, and political leaders. Its citizenry were offered the services of an organized police department, a "Fire Police Department," a waterworks, and other facilities of an organized community. Nashville had well-established churches, perhaps the most imposing statehouse in the west, and it had representations of a distinctive regional architecture in the mansions of Belmont and Belle Meade. John Berrien Lindsley, son of Philip Lindsley, succeeded his father at the helm of the University of Nashville. The two gave the community more than 50 years of useful service.

The Irish

In 1850, the state of Tennessee stood fifth in the nation in terms of population, and Nashville was beginning to have a rather diversified population; in 1860, the population total of 16,988 included 719 free colored and 3,266 Negro slaves. By

1860 there had been an increase of the Irish-born, both Protestant and Roman Catholic; in 1850, there had been 296 Irish-born in the city but in 1860, the total increased to 1,360. This increase was attributed in part to the 1845–1846 Potato Famine in Ireland, which resulted in the raising of $3,000 in Nashville for Irish Relief; but Saint Patrick's Day was celebrated in Nashville as early as 1838. The Irish started arriving in Nashville in some numbers in 1819, to work on the stone bridge across the river; and the building of railroads attracted additional numbers of them. One factor in bringing the Irish was the Nashville Female Academy, established 1816, and having significance in the rise of Nashville as an educational center. By 1850, the Academy had 31 young Irish women on its payroll as domestic help.

Nashville's Sixth Ward, southeast of Broad Street, was becoming an Irish community on the eve of the Civil War; and the city had a number of well-to-do men of Irish birth, among them Alexander Allison, with holdings of $200,000, James Bankhead, worth $125,000, Michael Burns, $300,000, James Erwin, $342,000, Thomas Farrell, $48,000, and James G. Moore, $38,000.

Nashville in the 1850's did not lack in representation of a sturdy German element, whose presence was to account for several distinguished churches in the city, among them First Lutheran Church (1859).[3]

Banking

As early as 1807 there was a movement for a bank in Nashville and the Nashville Bank was the result. Its directors included G. M. Deaderick, William Tait, Washington Jackson, John H. Smith, George Poyzer, William Eastin, Alexander Porter, Sr., Joseph Park, and William Wright. This bank established branches at Murfreesboro, Winchester, Shelbyville, Gallatin, and Rogersville, thus giving Nashville an early leadership in banking services to its larger community, another indication of the force of early beginnings in the more recent progress of the modern city.

At the beginning of the Civil War there were five public banking houses operating in Nashville: City Bank, College

Street near Union, the Bank of Commerce, corner of College and Union, the Traders Bank, corner of Cherry and Union, the Bank of the Union, No. 24 Cedar Street, and the Merchants Bank, No. 50 North College Street. The House of Thomas S. Marr was prospering in investment securities,[4] and giving Nashville still another early pattern which has moulded the character of the modern city.

A Happier Decade

The 1850's constituted a decade that in a number of ways was happier than the preceding one, in which there had been economic distress; and in which in the space of two years, 1844–1845, Nashville mourned the death of a number of men who had built Nashville by virtue of having lived there. In 1844, Henry M. Rutledge, whose father signed the Declaration of Independence, died, as did former governor William B. Carroll, and William McNeil, a pioneer, and ex-mayor Thomas Crutcher, a pioneer, largely instrumental, with the Rev. Collins D. Elliott, for the successful direction of the Nashville Female Academy (1816). The remains of Senator Alex Porter, of Louisiana, who had many Nashville connections, arrived for burial in City Cemetery.[5]

General Jackson died June 8, 1845, at the Hermitage. He had courteously, but firmly, declined an offer of an imposing sarcophagus, suitable for an emperor's coffin, which had been made to him in March, by Commodore James Elliott and the National Institute of Washington, D. C. He wanted only to be buried beside Mrs. Jackson. The General passed away without loss of composure. His body servant, Alfred, survived him many years, living out the rest of his days at the Hermitage.

Though the 1850's did not lack in their sorrows, the period was not one of those times when it seems as if every person you know has just died, and you must go to the funeral, meantime meditating on your future.

The State Capitol

A conspicuous reason for a happier climate was provided by the construction of the State Capitol, on a design so grand

that it inculcated a large belief in the future of the state and the capital city which it graced. In 1843, Nashville was selected by the State Legislature as the permanent seat of the State Government. The significance of having such an establishment was not hidden: Nashville offered the State a superb location, a commanding hill, obtained from George Washington Campbell for $30,000, and tendered the State gratis as site of the edifice. This offer having been accepted, William Strickland, a well-known Philadelphia architect, came to Nashville with his family in May, 1845, to design the Capitol. During his time in Nashville, Strickland designed what is now St. Mary's Church and Downtown Presbyterian Church, and perhaps had a hand in the design of Belmont and Belle Meade.

Fortunately the Board of Commissioners which worked with Strickland and his son, Francis, on the Capitol project was a worthy one, understanding how to get along with the legislature. Its membership included William Carroll, William Nichol, John M. Bass, Samuel D. Morgan, James Erwin, Morgan D. Brown, James Woods, Joseph T. Elliston, and Allen A. Hall. In recognition of his faithful services in connection with the project, Samuel D. Morgan was buried in the stately structure, as was Strickland.

Wilkins Tannehill presided at the laying of the cornerstone of the Capitol on July 4, 1845, and it was laid in the due and ancient form of Masonry. In October, 1853, the legislature met for the first time in what Governor William B. Campbell in proper appreciation termed "its spacious halls." [6]

In passing, it might be noted that approximately one hundred years after the first meeting of the legislature in the Capitol, the State of Tennessee began a thoroughgoing renovation and restoration of the structure, nearing completion at this time of writing. Belle Meade Mansion, also associated with William Strickland, is owned by the State, which has turned it over to the Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities. Open to the public, Belle Meade offers a vivid introduction to Middle Tennessee's life and times—from pioneer log cabin to the celebrated thoroughbred nursery which produced, among others, Iroquois, first American-born winner

of the English Derby (1881). His name is preserved in the Iroquois Memorial Steeplechase, featured annually in the spring in the vicinity.

Medical Leadership

By the 1850's, Nashville had no western rival for medical prestige. Such physicians as Felix Robertson, Boyd McNairy, John Shelby, and W. A. Cheatham, all graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, served well the healing arts and sciences, as did Dr. Paul Fitzsimmons Eve, professor of surgery, University of Nashville. Dr. Eve was elected president of the American Medical Association in 1857, and did much to interest the organization in high standards. One of the useful voices in support of high standards in medical training and practice in the ante-bellum U. S. was the Nashville *Journal of Medicine and Surgery,* which commanded an international circulation.[7] The emphasis on adequate training of physicians was not universally accepted when the Nashville doctors enlisted themselves in the cause.

General Leadership

Nashville on the eve of the Civil War had produced men and women of national and international notice and reputation, in fields other than political; there are so many of them that it will not be possible to name all of them. Andrew Jackson Donelson, after success in Texas, was minister to strongly rising Prussia; George Washington Campbell had been minister to Russia in the important years, 1818–1821. Mark R. Cockrill, whose father came with James Robertson, in 1814, introduced the first Spanish Merino sheep in Davidson County, having pulled the coup of obtaining a few sheep from the Spanish representative in Washington. He carefully tended his sheep on the return, driving them back all the way, it is said. In 1851, he won Grand Prize at London's International Exposition for the world's finest wool, excelling the Spanish and all others, with wool produced in the salubrious atmosphere of Davidson County.[8]

Nashville's social, cultural, and intellectual climate showed

a dynamic blending of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and New England influences and elements. For instance, the vigorous colony of Pennsylvanians had such leaders as the Porters, Shutes, Carrolls, Tannehills, and others; and Connecticut had sent the Foggs. Contemporary sources show a strong community appreciation of education, organized religion, reading, good conversation, good manners, and worthy aspiration—to generalize broadly but not without intense study of a wealth of evidence, such as the writings of Randal McGavock and those of the Rev. C. D. Elliott, whose Nashville Female Academy, until the coming of the Civil War, educated thousands of the finest young women of the South.

Families tended to be large; and good families tended to intermarry. An example is provided by Wilkins Tannehill's children: Mary Margaret married William T. Berry, outstanding Nashville bookseller; Ann married W. T. Bayless; Eliza Jane married Albert Gleaves; and Samuella married Burwell Abernethy. All these were men of much achievement. At least ten of Nashville's most prominent families of the present era have the Tannehill influence.[9]

A City, Yet a Town

Though Nashville, a well-organized community, now a city, at least was considering larger growth, it had not surrendered to the hustle and bustle of the big city mentality and habit; the pace was easy but not indolent. An endorsement of this way of life came from the pen of Wilkins Tannehill, who pointed out that it was pleasant to be able to stroll through town, see people whom one knew, and exchange greetings with them.

Another talented writer, Randal W. McGavock, Harvard-trained, and later mayor of Nashville, wrote what may have been the first travel book by a Nashvillian. This was *A Tennessean Abroad, or Letters from Europe, Africa, and Asia,* published by Redfield of New York in 1854. In this book, McGavock, as did Tannehill, made it clear that Nashville was a western city. In the 1850's, Nashville always regarded itself as such, never considering itself a southern place.

Change, Before Mars

Nashville was undergoing change, gradual, but definite, in the key matter of its ideas of itself. The building of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, a nine year struggle ended in 1854, when the first train ran to Chattanooga, incorporated the change to a different pace, with a quicker tempo, with much less grace, and with different values, such as money. Despite the engaging persuasiveness of President Vernon K. Stevenson, the railroad, with its aspects of noise, rush, and materialism, attracted scant support in Nashville and Davidson County. Nashville since 1825 had its ideas of the proper use of time, for instance, the discussion groups or literary societies, such as the Carroll or Erosophian, DeWitt Clinton or Agathedrian, Philomatic, Aratenean, and Addisonian, and the mayor of the city, keying himself to the city's pace, was not apt to neglect his Pliny or Herodotus to make speeches boosting a railroad.

An associate said of President Stevenson, "As long as I have known him, I never knew him to neglect his buiness for pleasure. His business was his all-absorbing pleasure and everything else was subordinate to that. His was an eminently practical life. He studied his business, it prospered in his hands, money flowed into his pocket, and he knew how to make it."

Only after Charleston and Augusta put half a million and a quarter of a million respectively into Nashville and Chattanooga stock was the City of Nashville willing to do what Stevenson wanted it to do: buy some stock. Then, the amount was only half a million; and many citizens disliked the idea, with no taste for the concepts a railroad symbolized. They fought the subscription all the way to the Tennessee Supreme Court, which ruled that the City government could make such a purchase. Before 1860, the stock was sold by order of the City Council, to pay the debt acquired when the water works were built in 1833.[10]

Stevenson was obliged to sell N&C bonds in Europe to finance the N&C's construction. Nine years were required to

build a single track railroad to Chattanooga. Even in fat, prosperous times, Nashville and Davidson County were not won over by Stevenson's arguments of time, speed, and making more money. There were few large, individual stockholders in Nashville and Davidson County. On the eve of the Civil War, President Stevenson was the N&C's largest stockholder.

CHAPTER TEN

Saga of Father Ryan and Others

DURING THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES, NASHVILLE became the leading depot in the West for the supplies of the Federal armies. Without Nashville and its location on the river and on a connecting line of railroad from Louisville to Nashville, thence to Chattanooga, and from Chattanooga to Atlanta, Sherman's Atlanta Campaign would have been impossible. In his *Memoirs,* written long after the war, General William Tecumseh Sherman indicated the importance of Nashville and its railroads in the campaign which made possible the capture of the great prize of Atlanta. This victory came at a moment when the peace movement in the North was strong and was being fed by the dismal lack of success of General Ulysses S. Grant in Virginia, where his reckless use of manpower won him the nickname of "Butcher."

Sherman's Atlanta Campaign contributed significantly to the re-election of President Abraham Lincoln, who needed an impressive victory to overcome the peace movement in the North. Without Atlanta, the Northern war effort might well have collapsed.

THIS WAS THE CITY

For three long years and more, Nashville was an occupied city, perhaps the first, continued occupation of a city by any

American army, and, in view of factors of location, constituted one of the unique chapters in American military history. Nashville was the railroad center in the western theater of operations. It was a major medical center for the Union armies. It was a center of espionage and counter-espionage. For a long time, the Confederate Army of Tennessee was based at Murfreesboro, while the Union army, ever growing in size, equipment, and supply, was at Nashville. For Nashville and for its citizens the war may well have been more real, more immediate, and more horrifying than in crowded Washington or in Richmond.

For instance, in late 1864, refugees were pouring into Nashville at the rate of 1,000 a day or more, simply turned adrift; and there was seldom a time when there were fewer than 5,000 wounded Federal soldiers in the 22 hospitals of the city. These included most of the churches and schools of the city, taken over by the Army, but the United States built a great field hospital on Harding Pike where 3,000 patients could be handled at a time.

Father Abram Ryan

One of the men who came to Nashville was Father Abram Ryan, whose name has been given to a Catholic high school for boys in the city. His seventeen-year-old brother, David, was killed in Confederate service. This tragic loss, in addition to the deep admiration which Father Ryan had for General Robert E. Lee, and an unlimited love of the South, its cause, and its people, caused Ryan to leave a missionary order and come to Nashville. He served as a parish priest here, and in Clarksville, meantime volunteering his time and energy to the Confederate Army of Tennessee as a free lance chaplain. He saw the ghastly slaughter at the Battle of Franklin, buried small pox victims, shared his pipe tobacco with wounded soldiers, and became famous because of the way the soldiers felt about him. They knew that he was their friend.

At Clarksville, Tennessee, Abram Ryan was inspired to write the poem, "The Conquered Banner"; ever modest about his writings, Ryan preferred to use the term "verses" for his work,

declaring "They were written at random—off and on, here, there, anywhere—just when the mood came, with little of study and less of art, and always in a hurry."

"Furl that banner, softly, slowly!
Treat it gently—it is holy—
For it droops above the dead.
Touch it now—unfold it never,
Let it droop there, furled forever,
For its people's hopes are dead!"

Ryan wrote, out of the depth of his feelings, that

"The world shall yet decide
In truth's clear, far-off light,
That the soldiers who wore the gray,
and died,
With Lee, were in the right."

To Ryan, as to many Southerners, the whole point was brought to focus by the personal example of Robert E. Lee, who loved his native state more than life and high command and advancement in his military career. Ryan exclaimed passionately of Lee, "If there were no religion, I would worship honor."

Rachel Carter Craighead

For many years, Mrs. Rachel Carter Craighead, of Nashville, kept a diary which related aspects of life and times in the city. She was the daughter of Daniel Franklin Carter and Mary Buntin; she married Thomas Craighead, grandson of Rev. Thomas Craighead and Elizabeth Brown. Her only brother was killed at the Battle of Perryville. During the war years she lived with her parents at what is now Sixth and Union and kept a day-to-day record of the events of the war. It is possible to give some excerpts from Rachel Carter Craighead's diary, through courtesy of Mrs. Rachel Buntin Wilmot, a descendant.

To judge from the diary, the pre-war years indeed were times when Nashville's life was at a fine stage of development. For instance, the diarist tells of trips to Mammoth Cave, of having Charlotte Russe on January 8th, the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, of studying Italian and French. These

pages of the diary reflect nothing that is too heavy in thought, nor which might distress.

Then, April 16, 1862, Rachel Carter Craighead tells of being unable to sleep, for "The Cavalry were rushing by all night with large squads." There follows discussion of Military Governor Andrew Johnson's policy of sending Confederate sympathizers to the penitentiary. "I hope the Yankee generals, etc., may reap their retribution if not on earth in the depths of the lower regions. If I am wrong, I hope God will forgive me."

General Don Carlos Buell, commander of the Union army based at Nashville, and his chief, General Henry W. Halleck, of Washington, both came to feel that Military Governor Johnson was literally out of his mind on the subject of the necessity of keeping Nashville as an occupied city. Johnson had not the slightest grasp of fiendishly-involved problems of supply; and, unique in U. S. history, an army of more than 50,000 men was dependent on just one supply line, the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, which was independently-managed throughout the war. In July, 1862, Tennessee's capital was virtually abandoned by Buell, but Johnson had devised defenses for the city which he loathed because of its aristocratic reputation. On July 14th, Rachel Carter Craighead said of Johnson: "The old devil says he will burn Nashville if he leaves." This is true. He was prepared to destroy the Capitol.

It would be difficult to list all the many policies of harassment that the Union army invented and executed once Gov. Johnson, who had a direct pipeline to the Washington administration, took over after Buell was removed and harsh General William S. "Old Rosy" Rosecrans was put in his place. They included a loyalty oath, a card index on every citizen in the county, breaking and entering houses at all hours, without any pretext whatsoever, sending people to the penitentiary and to Northern concentration camps, among them women of the city, because of their politics, confiscating horses, rewarding Negroes for informing, rocking and shooting of houses, ruthlessly cutting down fine, old trees for wood, refusing burial rights for killed Confederate heroes, forced quartering of wounded Confederates of the city, confiscation of churches

for use as hospitals, suppression and confiscation of the press, slapping heavy assessments on the city's inhabitants, and many, many others. After careful study one comes to one inevitable conclusion: no other city, including New Orleans, had to endure so much.

Frequently it was the pettiness of the Union army—more than three times the size of Nashville's 1860 population—which was so hard to bear. There was the custom of marching regiments through the city in the middle of the night, with all the clatter, and yelling of commands. Rachel Carter Craighead noted on September 15, 1864, that the Union army had ordered the citizens to illuminate their houses at night, to celebrate the death of General John Hunt Morgan, the famed Confederate raider. He had relatives in the city, and his widow was a Murfreesboro lady.

On April 15, 1865, the Union army decreed a day of celebration over the ending of the war in victory for the United States. Again, the houses were to be illuminated that night—Nashville citizens, as will be noted later, after the Union army had characterized itself as an engine of tyranny, and Andrew Johnson had enacted the role of despot, refused to light their houses at night.

Rachel Carter Craighead wrote, "In the midst of the celebration a dispatch came which changed all the joy into grief for Mr. Lincoln, who was assassinated at the theater, died . . . It's thought Booth the actor killed him but he is still at large. The town is draped in mourning for the President. It was an awful deed."

But the Union army could not believe that Nashville's citizens regretted the death of Lincoln. Unable to believe that this could be the case, the army at Nashville ponderously ordered householders to drape their houses in mourning. This was the same sort of insensitivity that caused the same army to issue orders to the school children of Nashville to commemorate the Fourth of July. Of course the children were willing to observe the Fourth of July. Their parents had always observed the date, but they did not have army bayonets subtly and not so subtly brandished in the background.

General Ulysses S. Grant

Rosecrans wrecked his army at Chickamauga, where the Confederacy might well have won the war if General Braxton Bragg had taken the initiative that was so clearly his. Rosecrans was relieved, and Ulysses S. Grant came to Nashville, to re-organize the wrecked Union army.

For a while, Grant occupied the parlor of the Carter home on Sixth and Union. After Rosecrans, his quietness and lack of arrogance was a change which was almost welcomed. On February 28, 1864, Mrs. Grant arrived in Nashville, coming by the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. Grant moved from the Carter home, but first returned the front door key, and, slightly to the amazement of Rachel Carter Craighead, asked the family how much he owed for the lodging, and offered to provide protection for the family against the drunken soldiers who at this time were terrorizing the city.

General William T. Sherman

Grant carried out his duties so well in re-organizing the shattered army, that President Lincoln gave him the assignment of directing the campaign in Virginia against General Lee, one which had broken every Northern top commander so far sent against the great Virginian. General W. T. Sherman, long associated with Grant, took the latter's post at Nashville, there to plan and organize the Atlanta Campaign, the turning point of the war for the National side. Nashville saw very little of Sherman, for he did not tarry too long in the city, just long enough to get the supply system rolling.

Effects

Among the effects of the war were changes in Nashville's population. At least thirteen high-ranking Northern army officers married Nashville women, and made the city their home after Appomattox. A survey of Marriage Book 4, Davidson County Courthouse, shows that in the year 1864, marriage licenses issued to United States soldiers were so indicated in the records. A check of the "U. S. A." licenses issued in 1864

shows 174 of them were inscribed. Next, the names of all these 174 individuals were transcribed, and these then were checked against the listings in the Nashville City Directories for 1866, 1867, and 1868, to establish whether or not these soldiers settled down in Nashville for at least three years.

Of the 174 soldiers who married while stationed here, 26 were listed in the city directories; or, the names, including initials, were the same. In a number of instances, compensation was made for possible similarity of name, and the 26 figure denotes only those names for which there seems to be no reasonable doubt as to previous military tenure in Nashville. It appears, therefore, that nearly 15% of these individuals stayed in Nashville at least three years.

Analysis was made of the occupations of these 26 individuals, on the basis of directory listing. Nine of the 26 were employed as clerks, with the rest working as carpenter, fireman, driver, government goods, barber, brakeman, and barkeep. This could be an indication of the utilization of job knowledge gained earlier in military assignments.

Marriage Record Book 4, Davidson County Courthouse, suggests the influence of the war years in general, and particularly shows the significance of there having been literally scores and scores of thousands of National troops in Nashville and vicinity for a long time. For instance, there were 303 marriages in 1861, some 50 more than in 1860, and suggesting war-time emotions, when so many local youths went off to war. In 1862, when the contesting armies were in and out of Nashville, with the city in effect abandoned by both, the number dropped to 212. With the Union army firmly located in the Nashville area and enlarged in '63, there were 316 marriages, but there were 516 in '64. In 1865, there were 387 marriages, a considerably larger total than in either 1860 or 1861, and suggesting the return of ex-Confederates, as well as the continued presence of the Yankees.

"The Sword of Robert Lee"

On June 22, 1883, Father Abram Ryan, now stationed at Mobile, but still remembered and much beloved in Nashville

and Tennessee, had one of his crowning experiences of life. He read his poem, "The Sword of Robert Lee," the initial not being used, at the unveiling of the classic Lee memorial on the campus of Washington and Lee in Virginia, the school which General Lee had headed, and thereby showed the attitude of the South toward education as being most important. The daughter of the late General Thomas Jonathan Jackson unveiled the monument, and then the famed Poet-Priest of the Confederacy read:

(1)

"Forth from its scabbard, pure and bright,
Flashed the sword of Lee!
Far in the front of the deadly fight,
High o'er the brave in the cause of Right,
Its stainless sheen, like a beacon light,
Led us to Victory.

(2)

"Out of its scabbard, where, full long,
It slumbered peacefully,
Roused from its rest by the battle's song,
Shielding the feeble, smiting the strong,
Guarding the right, avenging the wrong,
Gleamed the sword of Lee.

(3)

"Forth from its scabbard, high in air
Beneath Virginia's sky—
And they who saw it gleaming there,
And knew who bore it, knelt to swear
That where that sword led they would dare
To follow—and to die.

(4)

"Out of its scabbard! Never hand
Waved sword from stain as free,
Nor purer sword led a braver band,
Nor braver bled for a brighter land,
Nor brighter land had a cause so grand,
Nor cause a chief like Lee!

(5)

"Forth from its scabbard! How we prayed
That sword might victor be;

And when our triumph was delayed,
And many a heart grew sore afraid,
We still hoped on while gleamed the blade
Of noble Robert Lee.

(6)

"Forth from its scabbard all in vain
Bright flashed the sword of Lee;
'Tis shrouded now in its sheath again,
It sleeps the sleep of our noble slain,
Defeated, yet without a stain,
Proudly and peacefully."

The Battles of Franklin and Nashville

At Franklin, the Army of Tennessee came to the near-end of its glorious career. Pickett had a total loss at Gettysburg of 1,354; at Franklin this fine Confederate Army lost over 6,000 dead and wounded, including five generals who were laid on the back gallery of the McGavock house at one time. Yet this army kept fighting until it reached the outskirts of Nashville where, historian Stanley Horn shows, there occurred a decisive battle, with a grand total of 23,000 poorly-equipped men taking on a total of some 70,000, who had everything that George H. Thomas, a noted hand for supplying himself, could get. The date was December 15–16, 1864, just before Christmas; and the Confederates were badly defeated.

Still, that Army of Tennessee, that Army that would not quit, fought its way out of a ponderous trap; and, in fact, was still full of fight after Lee was forced to surrender. Seventeen days after Appomattox, near Durham, a barefoot, reduced, and brave Army closed its record. The men who were left started back home, with the full knowledge that they had been men, and had done the best that they could do in the defense of honor and principle.

"Some had shoes, but all had rifles,
Them that wasn't bald was beardless,
And the drum was rolling 'Dixie,'
And they stepped to it like men, sir!"

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Give a City a Reputation

THERE WERE MOMENTS DURING THE OCCUPATION of Nashville when it seemed as if the Federal army deliberately wished, went out of its way, to humiliate, embarrass, or annoy the local citizenry. It seems clear that Nashville's reputation as an aristocratic city, fully as much as its having been an important Confederate center, accounted for the wartime experiences. The influence of the reputation did not cease with Appomattox, but during the regime of Governor William G. Brownlow largely determined many of the Governor's actions.

The Pre-war Brownlow

Brownlow might be regarded as a professional East Tennessean. For a number of years he had been a minister of the Gospel, and he was called "The Fighting Parson." He was a master of vituperation, both as speaker and writer; and the Knoxville *Whig* under his editorship scaled the heights of immoderate language.

The Fighting Parson took a hand in ante-bellum Tennessee politics, quarreling with Andrew Johnson, himself no amateur at harsh language. Brownlow gave an address on Nashville's Public Square in October, 1856, in which he used characteristic lingo, and at the same time hinted how he felt about the capital city of Tennessee. He declared, "I therefore pronounce your Governor, here upon his own dunghill, an unmitigated liar and caluminator. He is a member of a nu-

merous family of Johnsons in North Carolina, who are generally thieves and liars; and though he is the best one of the family I have ever met with, I unhesitatingly affirm, tonight, that there are better men than Andrew Johnson in the penitentiary." [1]

A Nashville Complex

As probably is true of other state capitals, seats of legislation and administration of government and law, Nashville has at times incurred resentment, which can be understood. While this does not purport to be a psychological study, the suspicion grows strong, after scrutinizing contemporary letters, newspapers, speeches, books, and actions, that Parson Brownlow had a bad case of the Nashville complex. It will be recalled that Governor Andrew Johnson, during war, was deemed neurotic on the subject by such worthies as Federal generals Don Carlos Buell, Henry W. Halleck, and William T. Sherman. Governor Isham G. Harris said that Andrew Johnson would conceal himself in the grass just for the pleasure of biting the heels of a rich man's son.

Brownlow also was a self-professed plebeian, who liked to gloat over the humiliation of proud Nashville, the "western queen of the Confederacy," to use the term of a New York reporter of the day. Governor of Tennessee from 1865 to 1869, one of the State's critical periods, Brownlow in a few years more might have disrupted it for all time. Given a little more of this psycopath, there might well have been an independent state of East Tennessee, to join the new, war-created state of West Virginia. In recent years, Andrew Johnson's patriotism, his moderate attitude toward the South in the Reconstruction, and his courage in opposing the Radical Republicans have been given study, with the result that his reputation has considerably enlarged. However, thorough and cautious students of the Brownlow epoch have not seen fit to revise interpretations of that man.

Return to Nashville

During the distressful period when the Confederate army occupied East Tennessee, Brownlow had many difficulties.

After a series of adventures that culminated in imprisonment, Brownlow made his way to Nashville, soon after the Federal army had occupied the town. His gloating over Nashville's new status knew no bounds.

In that great best-seller published in the North, *Parson Brownlow's Book,* the East Tennessee editor gave a number of episodes occurring in newly-occupied Nashville which he thoroughly enjoyed. He told of standing in front of the R. H. McEwen mansion on Spruce Street in order to cheer a Yankee regiment which was being trooped up and down Spruce, primarily to annoy the neighborhood. He took satisfaction in waving his handkerchief at the boys as they clattered by where he stood, a conspicuous spot where the Nashvillians who were indoors would be sure to see him.

On his way North, by steamer, Brownlow stopped off at the battlefield of Fort Donelson, late scene of a Confederate debacle; and rather ghoulishly noted the arms and legs of the dead which he saw protruding from the shallow graves. He meticulously noted in his diary that the area had an overpoweringly offensive odor.

Governor Brownlow

In an election in which all former Confederates and their supporters were barred from the polls, Brownlow was elected governor. As head of Tennessee's government, he had the backing of Major General George H. Thomas, commander of the huge Army of the Cumberland, with headquarters at Nashville. The beetling guns of Fort Negley still dominated South Nashville; and the city was engirdled with a ring of shacks and lean-tos, thrown up by refugees, followers of the army, and even by wayward youth who had swarmed into Nashville during the occupation.

Brownlow was inaugurated at a time when Nashville was crowded with returning Confederate soldiers; and he concluded that their presence was a threat to his public safety; perhaps there might even be a revolt at Nashville. It is of some moment to notice this since it illustrates the immediate postwar period in a major Southern city.

Brownlow appealed to Thomas to mobilize extra heavy forces in Nashville; the General saw fit to re-occupy Nashville in strength, the third or fourth time since 1862, that the Federal army made a demonstration of force for Nashville's benefit.

Dr. E. Merton Coulter has pointed out that Brownlow disliked Nashville so thoroughly that he hated to set foot inside the city limits to attend to his duties as governor. Brownlow said, among other things, that the air of the city exuded a "deadly, treasonable exhalation," that its ministers were traitors who had uttered war whoops from "prostituted pulpits," and that its women were stiff-necked, proud, and disloyal. In turn, Nashville showed its tender feelings for the man: for instance, Brownlow wearied of getting boxes addressed to him which were stuffed with the bandages of a recent victim of the smallpox which still had Nashville in its grip (toward the close of the war smallpox became epidemic in the city). Brownlow himself is authority for the fact that few women of any standing in Nashville would so much as speak to him.

Quite naturally, all these unpleasant experiences solidified Brownlow's already-strong Nashville complex. He took keenest interest in the May, 1866, meeting in Knoxville, at which there was much rabid talk from the delegates of 22 counties of seceding from Nashville.

As time went by, Thomas and his headquarters were transferred to Louisville, thus depriving Brownlow of military support. Thereafter he embarked upon a military episode without parallel in Tennessee history, recruiting his own, personal militia, some 1,500 strong, including colored troops, and assigned to still another occupation of Nashville and Middle Tennessee.

Humiliation

As novelist John Hersey showed in *A Bell for Adano,* the United States Army, by the end of World War II, finally absorbed the concept that a series of small acts, informal incidents, so to speak, may make or may break an occupation.

By the time Nashville was occupied by Brownlow's army, acts of arrogance had occurred so often that they engendered many years of ill will. General Thomas, for instance, had accepted various gifts and honors from the City Council and the State Legislature, such as a gold metal inscribed to "The Hero of Nashville," a studied misnomer if there ever was one, and sat for a full-length portrait, costing $1,000, to be placed in Tennessee's State Capitol.

General Sherman observes in his *Memoirs* that "Old Pap" Thomas liked his comforts and was determined to have them. For example, he liked martial music; and there were a number of crack Federal bands in Nashville during the war years and afterwards. Nearly every night, from eight to nine, an excellent band played for the General at his quarters on High Street, always playing *Yankee Doodle* and the *Star-Spangled Banner*. Many of the houses in the vicinity turned off their lights while the band played, in a pitiful gesture of passive resistance which Nashville had devised during the war years. In later years, public relations experts, understanding such matters and their significance, no doubt would have had an occasional rendition of *Dixie*, or some other Southern tune.

Looting a City

Governor Brownlow made it possible for a nonresident, A. E. Alden, to be named mayor of Nashville, in a campaign which was opened, appropriately, on the steps of the State Capitol. This was the second time in which Nashville's municipal government was determined by gubernatorial policy; in 1862, John Hugh Smith was elected by the City Council, the latter being appointed by Military Governor Andrew Johnson. Alden's predecessor, Mayor W. Matt Brown, disturbed beyond end by the significance of Brownlow's interference, attempted to resist the governor's will, only to be threatened with imprisonment and worse by the armed militia occupying Nashville.

Alden and his ring looted the city of hundreds of thousands of dollars and, finally, in 1869, a Taxpayers' Association was formed to force the capital into receivership. John M. Bass,

who had been mayor in 1833, was Nashville's receiver; and he efficiently put the city's finances in order. Meantime, Alden and his crowd left the city; and Kindred J. Morris became mayor after the receivership.

General Fisk

As Woolridge's *History of Nashville* shows, the Taxpayers' Association had backing from certain Negro citizens. There had been a series of unsavory scandals in the management of affairs relating to the freedmen in Nashville; and forward-looking members of the race saw no gain unless there could be found better leadership. Brigadier General Clinton B. Fisk, partly sent to Nashville because of the concern of colored leaders there, efficiently stopped the exploitation of the refugees still encamped in large numbers in Nashville's environment. In a powerful speech in Edgefield to a large, mass meeting of Negroes, he counseled the people to go to work, and stop listening to the golden promises of agitators. Fisk University bears his name, and dates from February, 1866; at one time a Federal army fort occupied the original site of the institution.

Newer Moods

In 1869, the Tennessee State Legislature sent Parson Brownlow to the United States Senate, where he quietly served out his term, no longer in the limelight, and his health broken. The truth seems to be that his usefulness to the Radical Republicans had passed some time earlier. As Frank Lawrence Owsley has shown, these sinister men were pursuing the scheme of getting control of the government of the United States, nothing less; and the eccentric ex-governor of Tennessee could not particularly advance this aim.

There was a hint, at least, of new moods when Andrew Johnson, of the recent impeachment ordeal—according to W. A. Dunning one of the most frightening episodes in U. S. history—quietly arrived in Nashville in September, 1869, just when John Bell had died. Johnson and Bell had been bitter political enemies; but the former stood a long time in

line at the State Capitol to pay respects to John Bell, who was lying in state. In one of the dramatic moments in the history of the noble edifice, the former President stood for a long, charged moment at the open coffin, staring at Bell. He was heard to give a deep, shuddering sigh; and then Johnson walked on.

An Unobliterated Heritage

Many years passed before the dissension of the Brownlow years yielded to more conciliatory attitudes. It appears beyond cavil that Brownlow enlarged sectionalism in Tennessee, when, in reality, he could have made a signal contribution by stressing the Tennessee heritage which all inhabitants of the Volunteer State share. Perhaps he was merely the product of turbulent times.

Tennessee's Confederate heritage remained shining throughout the years of outrage; and it remains a source of inspiration to this day. Many will remember Dr. Francis O. Ticknor's "Little Giffin," which told of a sixteen-year-old Tennessee boy who was mortally wounded in his eighteenth battle:

> "I sometimes fancy that were I king
> Of the princely Knights of the Golden Ring,
> With the song of minstrel in mine ear,
> And the tender legend that trembles here,
> I'd give the best on his bended knee,
> The whitest soul of chivalry,
> For little Giffin of Tennessee." [2]

CHAPTER TWELVE

Change, with Continuity

Nashville in the 1870's and 1880's was both subtly and obviously altered from the city of the 1850's. The proud description as a western city, which has been mentioned earlier, was gone; in its stead, a local handbook on the city's trade announced, "Nashville is already a great commercial and manufacturing city, most probably the greatest in the South." Agriculture was dethroned; and so were the 100 steamers that used to traverse the Cumberland. The big institution for Nashville, deep in New South aspirations, was the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway. Nashville was looking for ways to grow, adding East Nashville in 1880, to join South Nashville, obtained twenty-six years earlier.[1]

The Honored Past

Organized April, 1868, the Tennessee Memorial Society of Nashville underwrote reinterment of some 2,500 Confederate dead. It was backed in 1870 by Mrs. William H. Evans, Mrs. James K. Polk, that grand lady, Mrs. John Kirkman, Mrs. E. H. Hickman, Mrs. John Overton, Mrs. T. J. Harding, Mrs. I. C. Nicholson, Mrs. G. W. Fall, Mrs. Jeff. French, Mrs. G. W. Cunningham, Mrs. Thomas Marshall, Mrs. M. P. Maguire, Mrs. Thomas D. Craighead, Mrs. William Clare, Mrs. Henry Massengale, Mrs. McG. Lindsley, Mrs. Henri Weber, Mrs. St. Clair Morgan, Mrs. James T. Bell, Mrs. Thomas Farrell, Mrs. John L. Brown, Mrs. Thomas Menees, Miss Aline McCall, Mrs. Felicia G. Porter and others. Some 1,300 Confederate soldiers

killed at the Battle of Nashville were lovingly reinterred in Mount Olivet Cemetery.

Meantime interments at the new National Cemetery for Federal Soldiers, Gallatin Pike, had reached 16,486, including 1,910 colored, most of them killed in service in Nashville. Another big National Cemetery was at Stone's River, resting place for over 6,000 Union soldiers, including over 2,000 who were unknown. This cemetery was founded by Hazen's Brigade in January, 1863, and has been mentioned as the first national, military resting place.

Following the Battle of Franklin, Nov. 30, 1864, John McGavock, of Carnton, had collected and buried in a site just south of Franklin the bodies of 1,496 Confederates who died in one of the war's greatest blood baths. Some 400 ex-Confederates rest in the Confederate Cemetery opposite the Hermitage; among these interments from the former Confederate Soldier's Home is Ralph Ledbetter, former slave, and loyal body-servant to a Confederate officer during the war. Other known Confederate cemeteries in Tennessee are at Beech Grove, Tullahoma, Union City, and Silverdale, and in Marshall County, but all too many boys, like Father Ryan's brother, David, were merely covered over somewhere in a woods.[2]

Other Resting Places

In September, 1868, Nashville's Roman Catholics organized Mount Calvary, supplementing the old Catholic Cemetery on a portion of St. Cloud Hill. The old City Cemetery now had 20,000 interments. In 1869, Negro citizens organized Mount Ararat Cemetery, on Murfreesboro Pike. The long-established Hebrew Cemetery, near St. Cecilia Academy, continued to be used in the '70's and '80's.[3]

This Was the City

In 1870, there was a stone jail built on what was said to be the exact site of Fort Nashborough; and the State Penitentiary was located on Church Street, one mile from the Public

Square, to begin the move to West Nashville, in the late '80's. From 1870 to 1880, the population doubled, reaching 80,000.

In the *Second Report of the Nashville Board of Health for the Year Ending July 4, 1877*, J. Berrien Lindsley, City Health Officer, with a board including Doctors J. D. Plunket, J. B. W. Nowlin, John A. Draughon, J. R. Buist, and Mayor Thomas A. Kercheval, probably caused some eyebrows to raise. He said that Nashville had not changed its sanitary habits since its village days, The sanitary code had been enacted into law only three years ago. Better than six thousand inhabitants subsisted on well or spring water which by tests had been proved to be contaminated. Diphtheria at times vied with cholera. Statistics were cited that showed Nashville had in the previous year the highest death rate of any city in the United States; in fact, of the cities of the world reporting their vital statistics, Nashville was in the fifth place as being the deadliest city. Filth diseases were prevalent in Nashville due to such habits as the careless disposal of garbage and slops, usually pitched from windows to the already saturated ground. The city, with an area of 1824 acres, contained 27,085 inhabitants in '77, of whom 9,582 were of African descent.

From June 6th to June 10th, in 1873, Dr. Lindsley noted, ten thousand Nashvillians fled the city because of cholera epidemic. Here was a wearisome problem. Dr. Joseph Jones, able, first City Health Officer, had already pointed out that from 1822 to 1866, a total of 20,248 persons died in Nashville; and one-tenth of the deaths was due to cholera, which reached epidemic stage in '33, '35, '50, and '55. President Polk was one of the victims of Nashville's cholera.

It took Nashville all too long to accept the urgings of its medical fraternity with respect to sewers, and general sanitary education and enforcement of standards of cleanliness.

Dr. Lindsley dwelt at length on the emergence of what he called a "central, crowded city." He remembered that that worthy doctor, W. K. Bowling, had strongly urged a river front esplanade for purposes of general beautification. In the glamorous fifties, Nashville had been a fashionable, watering place, but the Federal army had denuded the hills, so as to make

them raw and ugly, and allow them to reflect the sun's rays without the mollifying agency of trees. There were many complaints to the effect that the sun had grown hotter. This could not be proved, but it was a fact that the central city was unpleasant in summers to extreme degree, an aftermath of the occupation.

Meantime, the street system was fairly confusing. Nashville had grown by subdivisions which had their own streets. There was a tendency to the south of the city proper, where some of the land yet was tax free as a result of very early legislation. There would be a problem if the crowded city increased its population; for fills were required in the 1st, 3rd, 4th, and 6th wards. Dr. Lindsley urged that Nashville enlarge its area for purposes of the health of the overall community.

In a book entitled *Nashville and Her Trade for 1870*, published in Nashville in that year by Roberts and Purvis, local writer Charles E. Röbert gave the interesting information that Church Street (formerly Spring) by order of the City Council was made the center of the streets, from north to south. Every street crossing Church began with No. 1 North and No. 1 South; the streets running east and west began with No. 1 at the river, and so counted out to the end. The principal streets that crossed Church Street, running north and south, beginning at the river, and coming in succession, were: Front, Market, College, Cherry, Summer, High, Vine, Spruce, McLemore, and Vauxhall. Those running east and west, and parallel with Church, that is, the principal ones, were: Union, Deaderick, Cedar, Gay, Line, Crawford, Jackson, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. South of Church and parallel therewith, the main streets were: Clark, Broad, Demonbreun, Lincoln Alley, Ash, Mulberry, Molloy, Franklin, Campbell, and Castleman. Nashville actually had, at this time, two streets called Carroll; three, Franklin; two, Gay; two, Jefferson; two, Locust; two, Park; two, Robertson; and two, Washington.

The direction assumed by the city was influenced by such factors as: the riverine character of the location, the lowlands of Lick Branch or Sulphur Spring bottom; factories; cemeteries; railroads; and the transition of such streets as Cherry,

Summer, and Church to retail and trade districts, which was noticed as early as 1870.

Continuity

Nashville had developed a profitable trade in small axes after the war, suitable for female use: an informal commentary on the severity of the dreadful struggle in which Nashville shared. Yet, in the sorrow and in the change, the fundamental institution of schooling continued from the beginning of the public schools by Alfred Hume in '52. Two years later the first Board of Education included F. B. Fogg, W. K. Bowling, R. J. Meigs, Allen A. Hall, John A. McEwen, and Hume. Others who served from time to time to 1874 were: Charles Tomes, W. F. Bang, J. B. Lindsley, Isaac Paul, M. H. Howard, J. B. Knowles, S. Cooley, J. W. Hoyte, J. P. Coleman, William Stockel, C. K. Winston, P. S. Fall, J. L. Bostick, B. S. Rhea, J. O. Griffith, M. M. Brien, M. G. L. Claiborne, M. M. Monahan, J. S. Fowler, H. H. Harrison, T. A. Atchison, H. S. Bennett, L. D. Wheeler, D. D. Dickey, E. H. East, R. B. Cheatham, Ira P. Jones, John A. Callender, M. C. Cotton, Eugene Cary, D. W. Peabody, D. Rutledge, J. Jungerman, John Rhum, J. Sample, J. J. McCann, James Whitworth, T. H. Hamilton, Samuel Watkins, J. B. Craighead, L. G. Tarbox, J. L. Weakley, Charles Rich, George S. Kinney, A. D. Wharton, A. J. Baird, R. A. Young, J. T. Dunlap, and M. B. Howell. Study of these names in some detail shows that they had their political differences; but there was consistent determination by the members to work earnestly to assure Nashville's having an excellent school system. The schools were the first civic enterprise to be resumed after the difficult war years had passed.

Some of the patrons of Nashville's schools include: Colonel Andrew Hynes, who in 1856 gave a site for a school on Summer and Line streets, M. H. Howard, who gave a lot on College Hill to the board, and John Trimble, giver of a lot on Market Street. Howard High School still continues, in a new plant, while Cohn High School, among the newer institutions, has a name reflecting support of education by an individual citizen. Montgomery Bell Academy, a private school, bears an

honored name, Montgomery Bell's having made one of the largest individual educational endowments in Nashville's early educational development. Nashville's receptivity and appreciation of education at all levels has not been a negligible factor in attracting outside capital to the support of such institutions as Fisk, Peabody, and Vanderbilt.

In 1873, there were 8,370 children attending Nashville's public schools; and they averaged a little better than eleven years of age. Their teachers averaged a salary of $684 a year, and taught in a 2-3-2-3 curriculum, or primary, intermediate, grammar, and high school.

Today, the existence of a large high school, Hume-Fogg, on one of the most valuable sites in fast-developing Nashville, suggests the continuation of "reading, writing, and arithmetic" as one of the city's most characteristic concerns. Superintendent William H. Oliver has his offices in Hume-Fogg. The name of the fine, old institution denotes a city's appreciation of two of the educational pioneers of the South.

Milestones

In October, 1871, the first Fisk Jubilee Singers began their first tour; and they donated proceeds of their first concert to the relief of the victims of the great Chicago fire. In 1877, the first telephone call in the city's history was made, from the home of A. G. Adams, on Vine Street, to the residence of Mrs. James K. Polk, Polk Place, about a block away; and, in the same year, "airmail" was sent from Nashville to Gallatin by balloon, with stamps designed by John Dillard. This was the first time that airmail was used.

The German Element

Nashville's population largely has been and remains Scotch-Irish in origin. About a third of the total, at present, is composed of persons of African descent. For over a century other elements in the population have included Jewish, Irish, and German people, with representation of Italy, and, since about 1900, Greece.

That famed Long Hunter, Gasper Mansker was German, as were several of the signers of the Cumberland Compact. In the 70's and 80's, North Nashville was sometimes called "Germantown," while the Church of the Assumption continued a ministry begun in 1859, the same year the First Lutheran Church was founded. Both served mainly German-Americans at their inception.

George Dury, born in Wurzburg, Germany, was one of the most prominent artists in Nashville's history. Authorities believe that Dury had the honor of painting General Robert E. Lee, in his Union Street Studio, probably 1872–73. An unusual Lee portrait is at the well-known Evans Coffee Shop, 4770 Lee Highway, Arlington, Virginia; and it has been evaluated by the National Archives as being an authentic Dury. From 1864 to 1869, Dury's brother-in-law, Dr. Augustin Gattinger, was Tennessee State Librarian, later practicing medicine in Nashville, and conducting significant geological and botanical studies of the area.

Another Nashvillian of German origin was Edward Bushrod Stahlman, who purchased the Nashville *Banner* in 1885, and developed it into one of the South's most influential papers. The *Banner* is headed today by James G. Stahlman and E. B. Stahlman, Jr., his grandsons; and, since the *Banner* commenced its career, eleven stars, signifying that many new states, have been added to the paper's distinguished masthead. Not the least of the *Banner's* achievements has been its consistent, prominent featuring of local history, through the talents of Jack Knox, Jack Setters, Ed Huddleston, and others, guided by Charles Moss. Its sports section, edited by Fred Russell, leads the South; and the literary page, long edited by Mrs. Mary Stahlman Douglas, has earned nation stature.

The Nashville Centennial

Nashville has enjoyed two Centennials, the one for Tennessee's anniversary being preceded by the Nashville Centennial, observed in 1880; the city has been in existence nearly two decades longer than the organization of the Volunteer State. Nashville's Centennial was primarily a historical commemora-

tion; and one of its results was the Clark Mills' statue of General Andrew Jackson on Capitol Hill, an exact duplicate, or triplicate, of famed Jackson statues in Washington, D. C. and in New Orleans.

Railroad Leadership

Nashville came to invest its New South aspirations in one, single institution, namely, the Nashville and Chattanooga, after 1872–73, the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis. Under President Edmund W. "King" Cole, this railroad made a nearly successful attempt to put together, under its management, the largest Southern-born railroad scheme: a united trunk line from St. Louis to Savannah. This was complete except for the signing of a few leases when the L&N purchased Vernon K. Stevenson's controlling interest in NC&StL stock for some $4 million, early in 1880. Cole refused to stay with his railroad job, resigned in disgust with Stevenson's sell-out. Soon he became one of the founders of First American National Bank, a solid success on opening day, and a stimulating influence in Nashville's economy ever since.

Wages and Earnings

Nashville opened the decade of its New South transition, in 1870, with a fair number of mechanics and artisans. It might be interesting to see the trades and the pay received, as a basis for the reader's own comparison with later Nashville. There were: 100 Bakers, who received $1.50 to $3.25 per day; 120 Blacksmiths, $2 to $4; 80 Book-binders (including girls), $1 to $4; 40 Boiler-makers, $3.50 to $4; 100 Brick Masons, $1.50 to $4; 25 Broom-Makers, $1.50 to $3.50; 80 Cabinet-makers, $1.50 to $5; 500 Carpenters, $2 to $3.50; 60 Carriage-makers, $2 to $3.50; 180 Chair-makers, 50¢ to $4; 70 Coopers and wagon-makers, $3 to $4; 75 Foundry-men, $2 to $4; 20 Gun and locksmiths, $2 to $3; 30 Jewelers, $2 to $5; 30 Marble-workers, $3.50 to $4.50; 60 Millers, $3 to $6; 25 Painters, $2.50 to $3; 150 Plasterers, $3 to $3.50; 50 Plumbers, $2 to $4; 80 Printers, $22 to $35 per week; 60 Saddlers, $1.50 to $4 per day; 250 Shoemakers, $7 to $20 per week; 25 Soap-Makers, $2

to $3 per day; 25 Stonemasons, $1.50 to $4; 40 Tailors, $12 to $30 per week; 50 Tanners, $1.50 to $5 per day; 175 Tinners, $2 to $4; 30 Upholsterers, $3 to $5. These were Nashville's leading mechanical occupations; and the eight hour day, 40 hour week, had not evolved.[4]

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Gayest Day of the Gay Nineties

By 1895, GREATER NASHVILLE WAS APPROACHING A population of one hundred thousand, a fantastic contrast to the time when the badly-dwindled pioneers considered abandoning the site. A climatic moment was approaching.[1]

Impressive Growth

From 1885 to 1895, greater Nashville nearly doubled its population; and the Chamber of Commerce jubilantly traced the increase to the onrush of industry. It might be worthwhile to note now Nashvillians were earning their daily bread at this time.

In 1895, there were a reported 900 manufacturing establishments in Nashville's community, but most of them were quite small; however, the four cotton mills employed more than 2,000 people, who operated 51,000 spindles and 1,500 looms, which produced 20 million yards of cloth a year; and the woolen mill had a working force of 200, who operated 3,000 spindles that turned out 800,000 of jeans material annually. Then, there were extensive sawmill operations stretched along the river, and they employed 3,000 men; sometimes there were great log jams on the river at the foot of Broad Street, and backing up a long distance. Printing-publishing continued to be a major source of employment, with the Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, having 300 work-

ers. There were 36 printing establishments. In addition, it was estimated that 10,000 other people worked in Nashville's factories.

The days of the glamorous steamboat had gone with the wind; and Nashville now was almost exclusively dependent on the Louisville and Nashville and Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis railroads. Nashville was being called "The Minneapolis of the South," with eight large mills, and a number of grain elevators in its skyline.

The city's role as a regional educational center had been resumed with even greater success. It was stated that at least 5,000 students every year came to attend Vanderbilt, State (Peabody) Normal, Fisk, Belmont College for Young Ladies, Ward's, Boscobel College for Young Ladies, Professor J. F. Draughon's Practical Business College, and other institutions in the city. Meantime, the State School for the Blind continued its important work.

This Was the City

In 1888, a large map was required to depict Nashville; but Vanderbilt University was still located on "the city's western border," while the State Normal had its main buildings in the area bounded by Market Street and University Street in South Nashville. Probably the complex of railroad tracks and factories in the vicinity of City Cemetery, as well as the Cemetery itself, and practical problems of land fill in South Nashville were chiefly instrumental in causing Nashville to begin to veer to the west; but one should not overlook the factors of grades and those of the valleys of Lick Branch and Wilson Spring Branch. Generally the western portion of cities are preferred in the United States. There have been many theories to account for this characteristic, as, for example, the prevailing direction of the winds, when to the west, tend to remove smoke and dust, which Nashville began to experience disagreeably in the 80's and 90's (the first smoke abatement ordinance was passed in 1926).

In central Nashville, St. Bernard Convent was located on Cedar Street, directly across from the Capitol. The Nashville

Banner had its plant on Cherry and Church. Watkins Institute was on Church Street, where it is today. The reason for the name of the latter street is suggested by the several churches found there in the period: McKendree Methodist, First Presbyterian, Christ Episcopal, the Christian Church; a little to the south, on Vine, was K. K. Ohavah Sholem, an Orthodox Congregation founded 1850, and K. K. B. Y. (Reformed) nineteen years later. First Baptist Church and the Nashville Division of the University of Tennessee were on Broad Street; to the west on the same street was found West End Methodist.

As of 1895, Nashville could at last announce that the possibility for further cholera epidemics, which had restricted its growth, were at an all-time minimum, as a result of there being a huge, new reservoir, with pumping stations located up the river, and a recent half million dollar expenditure on sewers. Meters had recently been installed to eliminate the old-time practice of assessing water-users, the idea being to measure exact consumption of water. The city was again feeling constricted: its area was 9.43 square miles. Nashville had 164 square miles of streets. Those which were heavily used were paved with granite. In 1893, the railroads had had labor problems, part of the nationwide Pullman strike; and there was a financial panic that year, as well. Arc lights had recently been installed, in 1895, to light many of the streets, along with gas jets.

United Daughters of the Confederacy

In May, 1892, the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Confederate Home changed its name to Daughters of the Confederacy. Mrs. C. M. Goodlett was elected State President, Mrs. H. L. Craighead, County President, Mrs. W. J. McMurray, Vice-President, Miss Mollie Claiborne, Secretary and Treasurer, and Mrs. John P. Hickman, Assistant Secretary and Treasurer. Mrs. Goodlett has been credited with having suggested the name Daughters of the Confederacy, and she was chiefly responsible for there being a meeting of different societies in Nashville on September 10, 1894, when the general organization of Daughters of the Confederacy was founded. The or-

ganization of the National Daughters of the Confederacy took place in Nashville in September, with Mrs. John Overton, temporary Chairman, and Mrs. John P. Hickman, temporary Secretary. The following officers were elected for a year: President, Mrs. C. M. Goodlett; Vice-presidents, Mrs. L. H. Raines of Georgia; Mrs. Katie Cabell Currie, of Texas, Miss White May, of Nashville; Recording Secretary, Mrs. John P. Hickman; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. J. B. Lindsley; Treasurer, Mrs. W. B. Maney. A Committee on Constitution was appointed as follows: Mesdames L. H. Raines, W. L. Clarke, J. B. Lindsley, J. C. Myers, George Cunningham, assisted by Col. John P. Hickman, Secretary of the United Confederate Veterans Association.

A year later the name was changed to United Daughters of the Confederacy. The purposes were "Social, literary, historical, monumental, and benevolent—without any political signification."

Because of the continuing value of UDC to Nashville and the South, it seems proper to quote Mrs. Hickman's remarks in brief:

"It is educational, as it is teaching the present generation, to be handed down to our descendants, the principles on which the South went to war—not for conquest or booty, but that we might live as free men, as guaranteed in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of this country."

"It is historical, in preserving the history of the Old South, a people with conditions and environments, however worthy, that will never again exist. It is said by some that we are living in the past, but how can the present and future advance without a knowledge of the past in its traditions and aspirations?"

That reader interested in knowing more about the Nashville genesis of the United Daughters of the Confederacy will find excellent reading in Annie E. Cody's *History of the Tennessee Division United Daughters of the Confederacy.*

Meantime, in 1892, Sumner A. Cunningham founded and edited in Nashville the magazine, *Confederate Veteran,* for 40 years a major agency in preserving the heritage of the South.

The Visit of President McKinley

In 1897, the fabulous Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition was held in what is now Centennial Park. Over a million and a half people attended the Centennial from May to October. The grandest promotional exposition in Nashville's history, the Centennial stressed agriculture, commerce, industry, transportation, natural history, general history, the fine arts, song and poetry, and was impressively organized from first to last. John W. Thomas, president of the NC&StL Railway, and Eugene C. Lewis, NC&StL board chairman, were president and director general of the Centennial organization, respectively, serving without pay. Lewis had the inspiration of putting up an exact replica of the Athens Parthenon in the Centennial's area, thereby revitalizing the slogan, The Athens of the South.

President and Mrs. William McKinley visited the Tennessee Centennial in June, along with most of the members of the President's cabinet, and their families. There was some worry about the reception Nashville might give McKinley, only president of the United States to have done combat duty in the Civil War as a Yankee private soldier. But McKinley's easy-going ways won a host of friends for him in Nashville. He gravely gave a soldier's salute to a crowd that had welcomed him with a spontaneous Rebel yell. No sooner had the Chief Executive done this than an exceptionally fine military band which had come from Cincinnati for this occasion (Ohio was McKinley's home state) crashed into a sky-splitting rendition of *Dixie,* such as it had rarely, if ever, been played by a Yankee band in Nashville. There couldn't possibly have been a wiser gesture than McKinley's salute, matched by the surpassing tact of the band.

With Governor Asa G. Bushnell, the mayors of Cincinnati, Cleveland, and a number of Ohio cities on hand, the President and his wife made their way to the Centennial grounds. There, McKinley went to the Auditorium, which was packed with 8,000 people. Governor Robert L. "Bob" Taylor, made an eloquent, brief address of welcome; and the President, in a

short speech, praised Tennessee's record as the Volunteer State, mentioning at some length the valor of the Confederate soldier. It was stated in the Nashville press that McKinley's leisurely, two-day visit to the Centennial, during which he was seen by many, many thousands of people, was one of the few, truly public appearances by a Republican President in the South after the late war.

Nashville welcomed the McKinleys most heartily. A breakfast was given Mrs. McKinley at the Centennial which was said to rank with any social event in Nashville's history. Among those present were Mrs. Van Leer Kirkman, Mrs. John W. Thomas, Mrs. Robert Forde Weakley, Mrs. J. H. Acklen, Mrs. F. L. Blume, Mrs. J. N. Brooks, Mrs. Jennie C. Buntin, Mrs. James E. Caldwell, Mrs. S. A. Champion, Mrs. Mark S. Cockrill, Mrs. Mary C. Dorris, Mrs. John Hill Eakin, Mrs. George W. Fall, Mrs. Norman Farrell, Mrs. Mary W. Frazer, Mrs. M. M. Gardner, Mrs. James M. Head, Mrs. Ben Herman, Mrs. Thomas F. Kendrick, Mrs. William L. Nichol, Mrs. James Pilcher, Mrs. M. B. Pilcher, Mrs. J. H. Reeves, Mrs. James Trimble, Mrs. E. F. Wilson, and many, many others.

Finally, it was time for the McKinleys and their large party to leave Nashville. George M. Pullman, president of the company of the same name, was in Nashville especially to attend to the make-up of the McKinley train, which was lavishly decorated with flowers provided by the NC&StL and arranged by Currey's Floral Company. The Nashville Republican Club provided some of the flowers.

Thousands of Nashvillians saw the train pull away; and many were touched again by President McKinley's instinct for doing the proper, courteous act at the proper time. He came to the observation platform of the train and bowed deeply to the crowd, removing his hat, which he held to his chest as the train rolled away. Regardless of politics, the majority of Nashvillians felt that, if not the gayest day of the Gay Nineties, McKinley's visit at least was a memorable event. It brought to the Tennessee Centennial an early summer climax that contributed to its success.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Memories of Jere Baxter

May 27, 1902, was a triumphant day in the history of modern Nashville. On that day the first regular train of the New Tennessee Central Railroad puffed proudly into the city, bearing on the front of her boiler a large picture of Jere Baxter. He was president of the Tennessee Central, a man of eloquence, and probably the most generally popular railroad executive in Nashville's history.[1]

It was late for railroad building, for good routes had been taken up much earlier in history. This did not discourage Jere Baxter, however. He aroused so much resentment from the allied L&N and NC&StL that a bitter struggle resulted—perhaps Nashville's greatest controversy.

An Unhealed Wound

For long, dreary years, the significance of the L&N-NC&StL tieup was threshed out again and again in Nashville; and it made little difference for the executives of these two roads to point out that theirs had simply been among the first, if not the absolute first, of railroads to consolidate in the South. From 1880 until after World War I, when railroad consolidation was sanctioned by Federal legislation, unhappiness with its railroads was a major Nashville trait. More recently, of course, the L&N completed the 1880 process, absorbing the NC&StL completely; and these words are being written at a time when talks reportedly are underway for the former to be absorbed by its controlling company, the Atlantic Coast Line.

Men of good will and civic concern in Nashville were distressed, in the period when railroads were king, because the L&N, to be candid, consistently misused its great power and influence, notably in matters political. Sixty years ago, it was a wellspring of cynicism and defeatism in Nashville, which so long had placed such high hopes in railroads as a means of recapturing the prominence that the Civil War destroyed.

That area of town known today as "railroad gulch" for many years to responsible Nashvillians represented an unhealed wound, gashed into a valuable portion of the city by the L&N. This railroad had such political influence that it made Nashville its own reservation, a fact which discouraged other powerful lines from coming into the city. Sixty years later, the fact remains that the capital of Tennessee, for all its importance, is served by just one long distance line, the selfsame L&N. This characteristic is shared by no other major city in Tennessee, and by few major cities in the Southland.

Jere Baxter

Jere Baxter was not primarily a corporation president but rather was a dynamic man of the people. He was a descendant of an outstanding Middle Tennessee family; and inevitably personalized, and simplified, an extremely complex economic issue, seeming to many the perfect embodiment of a local man of courage warring against evil forces which had Wall Street in the background. In truth, Baxter took on the L&N because he was personally appalled at its heavy hand in the affairs of Nashville, his native city. He sincerely believed that the L&N had managed to maintain an unnatural monopoly in Nashville; and he was probably correct.

The Tennessee Central

The Tennessee Central was chartered in 1893, but construction was stopped by the financial panic of that year. Baxter plunged his personal resources into the enterprise, but they were wiped out, making him virtually penniless. The L&N had taken note of him, but had not taken him too seriously.

Baxter's Courage

In '96, Jere Baxter found adequate financial backing, after two years of scouring the investment centers of the country. A St. Louis syndicate, headed by J. C. Van Blarcom, president of the Mississippi Valley Trust Company, Adolphus Busch, president of a famous brewing company, and David R. Francis, former governor of Missouri, agreed to back him. The Tennessee Central project was picked up again, in renewed determination, about one year before the Tennessee Centennial.

Baxter and Nashville

The TC leader never lacked for sympathy in Nashville, but many citizens did not want to experience again the frustration and disappointment of 1880. Meantime, however, one by one, important business groups began to come to Baxter's side; and there was a deepening feeling that the city was on its way to a new, more promising era.

The Union Station

For thirty or forty years, Nashville needed and wanted a new passenger and freight facility, but, even in the 1880's, when Nashville grew so rapidly, the L&N put off building an adequate depot. The Nashville *Sun* continually agitated for a new terminal facility in the late nineties; and it accused the L&N of having deliberately procrastinated in building one in order not to hurt Louisville. Incidentally, this same paper claimed that the deep involvement of the NC&StL-L&N in the Tennessee Centennial, through their top men, through practically giving money away in extraordinarily cheap rates for trips to the Centennial, in reality showed their concern over the new railroad that Jere Baxter was developing. The *Sun* declared the two roads were now, at last, worried about what the public might think of them, and were going all out to make a good impression. This assertion was never denied by the two united railroads.

At last, in 1900, the Union Station in Nashville was dedi-

cated, with the big clock in the waiting room and the two young ladies with hands outstretched in friendship. They symbolized Nashville and Louisville. There was a round of speeches, by various railroad executives, all thoroughly self-congratulatory.

Then Nashville's Mayor James M. Head, a Harvard man, an able lawyer, had his turn to speak. Instead of the anticipated platitudes, he said that this massive, monumental facility was a severe disappointment. Originally, he had supported it, he said, thinking it would be open to all railroads, for reasonable payment, so as to enhance Nashville; but the L&N, manipulating City Council, converted a public facility into its own castle.

The Stock Subscription

Mayor Head and Jere Baxter persuaded the citizens to vote in favor of a million dollar stock subscription to the Tennessee, winning a hard fight with a rival group, backed by the L&N. This group said in essence, "Give us the million and we'll build a line from Nashville to Clarksville."

The Victory Celebration

After the first Tennessee Central locomotive came into Nashville, tooting a highly-polished "Liberty Whistle," there was almost fantastic celebration. Most of the factory whistles serenaded the first TC engine with a mighty, throaty chorus. There was a grand, mass meeting at the Tabernacle (the Ryman), with many speeches, including one by Baxter.

A Victory Banquet was given at the Duncan Hotel in honor of President Baxter; and it had representatives of most of the business and commercial groups of the city. There were eleven after dinner speeches, lasting until after midnight, in which a series of prominent Nashvillians spoke with eloquence and force about how significantly the new railroad restored Nashville's confidence in its future, after so many years of frustration and discouragement.

The honor of introducing the man of the hour went to

Mayor James M. Head, who had championed the Tennessee Central so strongly. It was difficult to tell who drew the heavier applause, the mayor, or the executive. Finally, Jere Baxter could make himself heard above the whistles, Rebel yells, and applause, and he said simply, "I have given my life to this work, and hope that I may be able to do more in the future than I have done in the past. And the only reward I seek is that when my body has become ashes that memory may enshrine me in your hearts."

Aftermath

With cool efficiency, the established railroads had been working out their schemes all the while. Almost immediately, after the victory celebration, the citizens of Nashville were startled to learn that certain nonresident taxpayers had secured an injunction against the stock subscription. The Interstate Commerce Commission later discovered that the NC&StL paid all the costs of this litigation, which were in excess of $20,000.

In April, 1903, Jere Baxter, incredibly, resigned from the presidency of the TC, publishing a long letter of explanation in the Nashville *News*, his own newspaper. The L&N and the NC&StL refused to handle Tennessee Central cars so long as Baxter was in the picture; they had let it be known, if he were to resign, there might be a change.

Of course, Baxter had incensed the management of the two railroads. He called the L&N an octopus, entangling Nashville with steel tentacles, made much of the fact that L&N President Milton H. Smith had the middle name of "Hannibal," and the like. His statements, however, were on a par with those of Mayor Head, who never tired of exposing the fact that Nashville for many years "suffered from the odium of being a way station on the L&N railroad." The rates Nashvillians had to pay for transportation and for commodities such as coal, necessary both for households and for industry, reflected the lack of competition, Head declared; and a decade later, the I. C. C. independently reached the same conclusions. It was a condition that the railroad executive, who quit his

job trying to save his railroad, and the mayor of the city, were struggling against.

The Significance

In 1913, in the United States Senate, Senator Luke Lea, of Nashville and Tennessee, presented a resolution that directed the Interstate Commerce Commission to make an exhaustive study of the relationship between the NC&StL and the L&N. The printed reports of this I. C. C. investigation do not make for the most pleasant reading, but mention needs to be made of the major findings.

For instance, the two roads owned a Nashville paper, the *American,* and gave away thousands of free passes to legislators, lawyers, newspapermen, and others. They contributed over $500,000 to the Tennessee Railroad Association, 1884–1907, to combat adverse legislation. They went all-out in their effort to unseat Senator Luke Lea, in punishment for turning the I. C. C. on them, and they were successful. The Commission observed, "These carriers have dipped into practically every domain of public and private life through the instrumentality of the free pass."

As for the Tennessee Central, from the beginning it was fought by the L&N in a way that grossly exceeded the normal, hotly-aggressive practices of day-to-day competition. For instance, even after Baxter's retirement, the L&N and the NC&StL refused to handle Tennessee Central cars. Inevitably, Nashville was not advanced by its railroad situation. Even the most powerful railroad would think a long time before coming into such a place. Rates on such significant commodities as coal reflected the high costs of giving away millions of miles of free transportation to the right people; and of buying a newspaper, financing an expensive lawsuit, and of largely underwriting a railroad lobby.

That was a long time ago; and today the Union Station no longer is the nerve center of the city. The place to experience the feel of a well-located city is the busy corner of Eighth and Broad, where the big tractors converge and change routes, and the great, new Municipal Airport. In pipelines and in river

traffic, Nashville has taken on new importance in recent years. The asset of a favorable location, that basic endowment of the city, has been rediscovered. Meanwhile, the Tennessee Central goes on; and thousands of children have been educated in a public school that bears Jere Baxter's remembered name.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Salute to Nashville's Railroaders

THE OLDEST MECHANICAL OCCUPATION IN NASHVILLE probably is railroading; and L&N and TC men today are a valuable part of the community. The NC&StL is no more, but it once had a wonderful organization of veteran employees called "The Old Guard." They met annually to talk over old times; and to be a member, one must have had 40 years' or more service with the NC&StL. When the Old Guard was formed in 1909, some 22 men, with a grand total of 1,200 years' service, nearly 60 years a man, showed up, which is a rather remarkable statistic showing that no little part of Nashville's continuity has been provided by its many thousands of railroaders. Here is a transcription taken directly from Old Guard minutes, showing what fun railroading was, and is.

Thomas A. Clarkson, long-time NC&StL Secretary, and William L. Danley, General Passenger Agent, did yeoman work in keeping the NC&StL Old Guard going until it was disbanded, due to the Grim Reaper which removed the really interested old timers, in the 1930's.[1] One day in 1882, Danley saw a fast-running Florida-bound passenger train thunder through Nashville on NC&StL steel, and he exclaimed, "Why, she's a regular *Dixie Flyer!*" and thus one of the oldest, named passenger trains was born. President John W. Thomas, Jr.,

honorary member, started with the road in '72, when his father was president. Young Thomas began as a fireman. As president, he had a special locomotive all his own, *The Tennessee;* she was always maintained in tiptop condition so as to grace the name she wore.

Hard-boiled people will not get too much out of these stories, but they should be reproduced anyway, directly from the writer's transcription, with the speaker's name given, because they suggest a different time and a different way of life, which are full of interest and appeal. The speeches from which these stories were taken were given at the annual Old Guard banquets, the bill for which was footed by the railroad company. Here is what they said, as it was said.

Danley Speaks (May, 1907)

When I came to work at the N&C freight office . . . my work was to enter manifests in a large record book, item by item, giving the number of every manifest, number and kind of cars, names of consignors and consignees, marks, weights, destinations, rates, freight charges, etc., on every bill, then fold and place in envelopes for conductors handling local freight . . . This was before the large copying press and copying books or sheets ever came to the Nashville Freight office . . . At that time [1857] all freight moving through Nashville for the South came here by steamboat on the Cumberland River, and was transferred by wagons and drays from the Broad Street wharf to the depot. Even after the Louisville & Nashville Railroad was completed and opened for business, all freight was handled between the roads, and between the river and the roads by wagons and drays for long years, and everything had to be reloaded, rebilled, and freight assessed, charges forwarded, etc . . .

Danley on Single Track Train Dispatching

Train dispatching by wire, as carried on now, was hardly thought of then, and all trains were intended to be moved on time card figures, . . . consequently they were frequently hung up, delayed, and held out awaiting schedule requirements, and much trouble was experienced by the operating department. When Col. [E. W.] Cole was superintendent, one of the telegraph operators suggested to him that the difficulty of passing trains on the

line could be overcome by running all trains southbound one day and northbound the next. This was a bright idea.

Lafayette Lynch on a Strange Engineer (May, 1909)

I was braking on a train—a new engineer came out with a new fireman. It took about one hour to get to Antioch. He would run her dry and then pump her over. She was the nastiest engine I ever saw when we got to Antioch. He opened the fire door and was looking in the fire box when the soft plug melted—he jumped off, took out through the woods as fast as he could run, the fireman after him. They towed the engine back to the shops; old man Webster [Thomas B., master mechanic for many years, with service at the later "Roundhouse"] gave him a kick about six inches below the small of his back, and he was never heard of again here.

Lafayette Lynch on the War (May, 1909)

I remember to have seen one hundred old time railroad men lay down their jobs, not in mutiny but for the love of the road and their country and form a company in the 1st Tennessee Regiment (Confederate).

William Lynch on Wrecks (same meeting)

Wrecks at that time [1855's] would be two or more per day. In clearing we had to pull them by block and pull rope, sometimes two hundred yards long with 150 men to pull . . . Then 15 miles an hour was the limit for passengers and 10 for freights. We had no numbers in those days for time tables, trains were known as day and night passenger, and freight just simply as East and West freight.

Lafayette Lynch on Strikes (May 12, 1910)

There was never but one strike on the old Nashville & Chattanooga road. When old man Hayne was set up as conductor he employed six decrepit old men as brakemen, they had heard of strikes, and they talked it over. One old man by the name of Perry said he would go and tell the Superintendent and he would raise their pay, so he went up to the office and found the Superintendent at his table writing and said, "Mr. Cole, I strike." Mr. Cole said, "You strike for what?" Old man Perry said, "Better pay." Mr. Cole told him to strike out of there and strike home afoot

. . . and ended one of the greatest strikes in ancient or modern times.

William Lynch on Changes (same meeting)

Many changes have taken place on the road in the last 54 years. In former times the first place to go after putting away the train was to the saloon and tank up on booze and play cards, get drunk, and fight. But now we hardly ever hear of a railroad man getting drunk. They all seem to be sober and perfect gentlemen.

Lafayette Lynch on Heroism (same meeting)

The Nashville & Chattanooga still holds her ancient reputation for never having killed a passenger. There have been a few railroad men killed but never a passenger. There is an overhead bridge just south of Henderson Flag Station that has killed several men. There was one brakeman killed by striking his head against it, I carry a great scar in the crown of my head I got against it. A conductor, Dave Ramsey, struck his head against it, he fell between the cars and fell across the draw bars, a free Negro by the name of Dick Rouse saw him and ran him down and got him by the waistband of his pants and pulled him on top, he could never smell or taste anything afterwards, it knocked out all of his front teeth.

President Thomas on Human Nature (May 9, 1907)

Some of you will remember the engineman whose conductor, not doing to suit him, wanted to add too many cars, or something of that sort, was left standing on the main track, the engineer deliberately pulling the pin out from behind the tender, and going on with a light engine to the terminal. Another instance some of you will recall. An engine had stalled on the mountain; the engineer whom you all know well, tied down the safety valves—there were no pops in those days—put on the blower, sanded the rail, pulled the throttle wide open, perched himself on the side of the cut, and threw rocks at the old kettle, abusing her all the while, until presently the steam pressure went away up beyond the limit and the train moved off.

Joe Marshall, Colored, Fights the Yanks (May 28, 1914)

My first job in life was wiping engines in the round house. I was waterboy on one of the first three passenger trains put on the

road from Nashville to Chattanooga at night. We had to stop at the springs and get water. They had no coolers. During Mr. Stevenson's time the company had to do all the switching in the yards with mules. The first engine that did the yard switching was known as the cow-eater, not having any number. The Hugh L. White engine broke through the Duck River bridge, Friday, March 2nd, 1857. I passed wood on the Governor Sevier and the Governor Carroll, the night passenger engines. They were both built in Nashville. About this time the war started and I went south with the Railroad Company, First Tennessee Regiment.

Danley Sums Up the Glory (May 9, 1907)

When Socrates, the Greek philosopher, called man to the study of himself by the memorable precept, "Know thyself," he gave him the hardest task possible at that time, but the steam locomotive had not been invented.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Brave Men, Brave Women

DUNCAN, CHARLES B. . . . , CAPTAIN, 77TH FIELD Artillery. Near Bois-De-Septsarges, France. When an enemy shell landed in the ammunition dump of his battery, he jumped in among the burning shells and succeeded in getting the fuses away and extinguishing the fire. He was later wounded by enemy shell-fire. The Distinguished Service Cross for extraordinary heroism in action was presented Captain Duncan, posthumously, and was received by his grandmother, Mrs. W. M. Duncan, Nashville, Tennessee.

Overton, John Williams . . . , 2nd Lt., 6th Reg., USMC, 2nd Division. Near Vierzy, France, July 19, 1918. While valiantly leading his platoon in an attack against the enemy, under severe machine gun fire and artillery fire, Lt. Overton was mortally wounded. His courageous conduct had a great moral effect upon his men and helped to insure the success of the attack. The Distinguished Service Cross for extraordinary heroism in action was presented Lt. Overton, posthumously, and was received by his father, Jesse M. Overton, Nashville.[1]

These two brave men were two of the two hundred and more Middle Tennessee heroes who made the supreme sacrifice in the conflict the history books now call "World War I." They added poignance to Tennessee's hallowed record of service to country in this war which produced many a record of valor. It was a war in which such Tennesseans as Sergeant Alvin York, Colonel Luke Lea, Admiral Albert Gleaves, and others upheld the Volunteer State's finest traditions.

Admiral Albert Gleaves, a Nashvillian, and a graduate of the United States Naval Academy, first won fame as commander of the USS *Cushing* in the war with Spain; in this same conflict, the USS *Nashville* fired the opening salvo. In the later war, Gleaves was assigned command of the Cruiser and Transport Force, United States Navy. He was given large credit for its fine record of having convoyed more than a million Allied troops to France without loss of a man; and it should be remembered that doctrine was built in this operation which later was beneficially followed in the second world-wide war. A historical marker locating Admiral Gleaves' birthplace is on the northeast corner of 9th Avenue South, and McGavock Street, near the Federal building.

Heroism, high convictions and ideals, purpose, and no little adventure stirred many a youthful Middle Tennessean in the war that many textbooks now hasten over. Many young men and young women were absolutely confident that here was the war which would end war; of that there can be no question. Many of Nashville's men who went marching off to this, our First World War, which was over forty years ago, now, still have exceptionally vivid recollections of their everyday experiences as men without any particular rank, and it may be interesting to savor briefly two of these recollections.

De-lousing

One Nashvillian who was in the First World War recalls the de-lousing process that all soldiers had to undergo in France, a tribute to one of the most persistent followers of armies in history. In his case, the unit was given orders to remove clothing, make a bundle of it, tie it up with belts, and then wait while the bundles got a steam bath. But while the bundles were being steamed, the "Army decided" to march the unclothed troops back to the camp, so, march the man did, along with his unit, through the streets of a French town near the Vosges mountain. The men later got their bundles back, though some of them, in the mysterious ways of the Army, had become mixed-up worse than a backlash of line on a fishing reel.

Down in Georgia

Still another Nashvillian humorously remembers the time down in Georgia when the officers, who were young, green, and otherwise unsure in their command, lost control of the men who had been riding a troop train which stopped to let the men exercise. The officers wanted this done in formation, according to the book, but the boys simply paid no attention to orders and straggled off into a Georgia pine woods. Finally a top sergeant, who had been in the service a long time, disgustedly yelled out to the men to be back on the train in ten minutes or it would pull off and leave them stranded in the woods. So, the boys all returned docilely and after that made good soldiers, while the officers improved, too.

With Colonel Lea

A 17-year-old Nashville youth found himself, in time, in France, member of the 114th Field Artillery, commanded by Colonel Luke Lea. Another well-known Middle Tennessee unit was the 115th Field Artillery, strongly led by Colonel Harry S. Berry, of Nashville; and many Nashville and Davidson County men also served in the famed 30th Division.

Lea was formerly United States Senator, was editor and publisher of the *Tennessean* newspapers, and was a direct descendant of distinguished men and women who had contributed well to the development of Nashville and Middle Tennessee. At war's end, Colonel Lea and a small group of his men conceived of the daring plan to kidnap the German Kaiser—who, it will be recalled, had been the prime target of Allied propaganda—from his castle in Holland. William II lived until 1941, long enough to see the flames of World War II, an old man well-publicized for his woodcutting; but at the time of the Lea expeditionary force he was a world symbol of Prussianism whose flight to sanctuary was deplored by many.

The youth in question was not a member of the party formed to "bring Kaiser Bill back alive." Indeed, so strong were the feelings aroused by the flight-to-safety-and-ease by

the German Emperor that, unknown to Colonel Lea, a *second* party of his men organized a little hunting expedition. They did not get to the castle but they did have a little fun playing tag with the Dutch soldiery. Aboard ship, returning to the States, they told the Colonel of what they had done, and he was astonished.

A Red Cross Nurse

War is war, not all heroics, as the experiences of a Nashville Red Cross nurse indicate. Like some other nurses she went overseas with the Vanderbilt Medical Unit, perhaps as fine a medical team as was recruited in the war, and duly recognized as such. She worked with three doctors and three corpsmen, often starting around 4:00 P.M., quite near the front lines.

This Nashville nurse, who also served in World War II, recalls well one dawn scene "somewhere in France," when she came out of the operating tent for the first time in twelve hours. To her horror she saw that the surrounding area was covered with dead or dying boys, or badly injured ones, who had been brought and left there during the hard fighting of the night.

The nurse admits that the hours were long, the experiences heartbreaking, of a kind that a civilized person never gets accustomed to enduring, and there was often this feeling of futility, as if one were a puppet; yet, she stoutly maintains that the Allied Cause in World War I, for all the postwar disillusionment, was the right one. She has no reservations about the validity of our aims in World War II; but she finds it unspeakably tragic that two such wars should have come about virtually within the span of time that it took to rear yet another generation of fine youths to fight. She says very calmly that she does not regret any of her many hours of service.

A Navy Woman

Will Allen Dromgoole, well-known Nashville poet and journalist, was the first woman volunteer from Tennessee to enter the armed services. She enlisted in the United States Navy,

May 1, 1917, and was assigned to recruiting and publicity. She collected a large library in Virginia for sailors.

The Home Front

Nashville in World War I saw many women working to do their part: at the powder plant built by DuPont, in Red Cross, various defense activities, sale of bonds, Victory Gardens, and many others. There were five Liberty Loan Campaigns, with Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Mrs. Alexander S. Caldwell, Mrs. Joseph Warner, Mrs. Percy Warner, Mrs. Reuben Mills, Mrs. Harry Sudekum, Mrs. Adair Lyon Childress, Mrs. Jesse M. Overton, Mrs. Sam Phillips, Mrs. James H. Kirkland, Mrs. Bruce Douglas, and others having large responsibility. Over 700 Nashville and Davidson County women participated in one drive alone. In Nashville, for the first time anywhere, the technique of street sales of bonds was used; the Italian-Americans of the city were instrumental in bringing the Alpines to town, to promote interest in bonds; and there were many other special events and features. In the great train disaster year of 1918, when the nation's railroads, badly overloaded, suffered a series of terrible wrecks, 101 persons were killed on July 9 in a NC&StL wreck, worst railroad tragedy in U. S. history.

Beginning May 1, 1919, the Fifth Liberty Loan, or Victory Loan, was headed by Mrs. John R. Aust, state chairman, and Mrs. James S. Frazer, Davidson County chairman. Mrs. Sam Woolwine sold $90,000 in bonds in a single day; the Demonstration School of George Peabody College for Teachers set a record for schools of its kind.

Homecoming

Mrs. B. F. Wilson was vice chairman of the homecoming planned for the 114th, 115th, and 117th Infantry, and others; and Mrs. Betty Lyle Wilson was in charge of a drive that brought 10,000 cakes to Nashville for distribution to the boys. Many cakes were finely decorated, and some were quite elaborate: the German Kaiser's Castle, the Hindenberg Line, the words of Dr. John McCrae's.

"In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row . . ."

These cake decorations were such as to provide an informal example of how local attitudes and feelings were not unlike those found across the nation at this time.

Equal Suffrage

After the war, the Tennessee drive for woman's suffrage was resumed in earnest, as Dr. A. Elizabeth Taylor shows in a Vanderbilt Ph.D. thesis. Nashville's Mrs. Leslie Warner was state chairman; and Mrs. William S. Overall was Davidson County chairman in this successful drive. Others participating included Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Mrs. Lou Lusky, and Miss Matilda Porter, on national, state, and local levels. These ladies were assisted by national leaders, who converged on Nashville in 1920, and by a number of influential men, such as E. B. Stahlman, and Luke Lea. Tennessee's vote was decisive in ratifying the 19th Amendment, which conferred, at last, full citizenship on American women.

The Tendency

For many observers, the period of World War I, and a little earlier, marked the beginning of a time when wider currents first flowed through Nashville's climate, for the first time, to any degree, since the War Between the States. During the years of the First World War, for instance, it was necessary to state which "level" one meant: national, state, or local. Actually, however, the process was more of a matter of an overlay, rather than an erosion of local individuality. Or at least one hopes that is the case.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Nashville's "Roaring Twenties"

As FREDERICK LEWIS ALLEN POINTS OUT IN *Only Yesterday,* the period of the 1920's fascinates many Americans. That was a few years ago, but the preoccupation with this era right after the First World War remains full of interest and charm, even nostalgia to a degree. How were life and times in Nashville, that continuing city, influenced, if any, by the well-publicized facets of what writer F. Scott Fitzgerald called "The Jazz Age?" [1] In what ways did Nashville look to its own traditions, its heritage, in times when "sweeping the country," "a national craze," and "just like in New York" were catch sayings for the Very Important, the Significant, the Thing to Do.[2]

The Parthenon

The well loved Parthenon resulted from a decision of the Board of Park Commissioners to replace a structure built of temporary materials for the Tennessee Centennial. This project (1920–1931) uplifted and extolled art and beauty and re-established the sobriquet, The Athens of the South.[3] At the same time, the Twenties, the Kit Kat Night-Club, in the Hermitage, advertised that it provided Manhattan-style diversion, with a comic Master-of-Ceremonies.

The Symphony

Conductor F. Arthur Henkel led 62 of Nashville's own musicians in the first concert of the Nashville Symphony Orchestra at the Princess Theater in April, the same year that the decision to build the Parthenon was made. Mrs. Thomas H. Malone, Jr., soprano, was soloist. Officers of the Nashville Symphony Society included George Pullen Jackson, president, Mrs. I. Milton Cook, vice-president, A. Maurice Loveman, secretary-treasurer, Oscar Henkel, librarian and property man, and Maestro Henkel. The first published list of patrons included George E. Bennie, C. H. Brandon, Mrs. J. E. Caldwell, Sr., Mrs. John H. Carpenter, Mr. and Mrs. Whitefoord R. Cole, Mrs. John Hill Eakin, Mrs. Robert F. Weakley, Mrs. Felix Ewing, Mrs. F. J. Fuller, Mrs. C. A. Goding, Dr. W. A. Haggard, Mrs. Ben Herman, Miss Sara Hitchcock, George Pullen Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. Robert F. Jackson, Mrs. A. Loveman, Mr. and Mrs. John A. Pitts, Dr. Irving Simons, Major E. B. Stahlman, Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Tupper, and Mrs. Carrie Watson Lewis.

Program notes were prepared by James Browne Martin; and the programs carried advertising, featuring, among others, Porges, on Church Street, Satsuma Tearoom, and, indicative of the times, advertisements for permanent waves offered by McIntyre's Beauty Salon. The beauty shop advertised with "before and after" pictures of a long-haired young lady, her hair in both photographs coming to below her waist.

Inevitably, Prohibition

Persons interviewed mentioned prohibition as one of several national influences in Nashville's share of the roaring twenties. Though it may well be that some of these recollections incorporate later interpretations of the period, they nonetheless should not escape consideration altogether. Colorful stories were told of a certain lady bootlegger, said to have operated a fast Hupmobile Straight Eight, once hitting 120 miles an hour on Franklin Pike. Reportedly, the term

"fruit jar drinker" took on some local notoriety, signifying the use that moonshiners were making of fruit jars; one person pointed out that there was a popular "band" on WSM's Grand Ole Opry named "The Fruit Jar Drinkers." One gathers that there was a good deal of concern for the future of youth in such times.[4]

Dr. Henry Allen Boyd

In 1922, Dr. Henry Allen Boyd succeeded his late father, an ex-slave, in several important positions in Nashville's Negro community: executive secretary of the Nashville Negro YMCA, secretary of the National Baptist Publishing Board, president and publisher of the Nashville *Globe*, an independent newspaper, president and chairman of the board of Citizens Bank and Trust Company (oldest Negro bank in the country, assets well over $600,000), member of the boards of Fisk and Meharry (the latter has trained half of the Negro medical personnel in the United States). Another Nashville Negro, Dr. A. M. Townsend, was developing a career in the city remarkably parallel to Dr. Boyd's.

When the senior Boyd founded the Publishing House, Henry Allen Boyd gave up a secure job in the San Antonio Post Office to join the new enterprise as janitor. He rose through the ranks, becoming his father's assistant before he died.[5]

"We Shield Millions"

October 5, 1925, the National Life and Accident Insurance Company's Radio Station, WSM, "We Shield Millions," began a career of unbroken success. It soon became one of the 25 clear channel stations in the United States, partly because Nashville has a strategic location. The Life and Casualty Insurance Company in 1927, meanwhile, noted that its WLAC was completing a full year's service.

Mrs. Lusky Passes

In November, 1927, Nashville lost one of its oldest and most valued citizens when Mrs. Bertha Lusky, 107 years of age,

died. She had lived in Nashville for nearly eighty years. Her husband, a well-known furrier, had enlisted in the Confederate army in Nashville and served in it throughout the war. At eighty-five years of age, Mrs. Lusky made an unaccompanied round trip to New York; and to the end of her life customarily prepared her own food, being quite self-reliant and self-sufficient. Her many friends and her relatives for many years celebrated each one of her birthdays with thanksgivings and tributes to Mrs. Lusky's character.

The *Banner* pointed out that Mrs. Lusky was a fine representative of Nashville's Jewish community, never extremely large, but influential and long a part of the city's life and times. The *Banner* also stated that Mrs. Lusky gave the first Torah, or Book of Laws, a holy book, to the Jews of Nashville; and she was a member of both the Gay Street Synagogue and the Vine Street Temple. It was declared that, "Mrs. Lusky believed that the times alone changed and that people ever remained the same." [6]

Education

The Parthenon and the Symphony served to underscore the significant position of Nashville in the culture of the South and the nation, one which was not obtained overnight. To take another example, educational endeavor is one of the persistent examples of continuity in Nashville's long history. This was particularly true during the 1920's, when George Peabody College for Teachers, under President Bruce R. Payne, and Vanderbilt University, under Chancellor James H. Kirkland, were being strongly developed.

Chancellor Kirkland and Mrs. Kirkland have been credited with having popularized the iris in Nashville, Mrs. Kirkland's remembering that Athens was an iris center. Nashville's most frequently-used sobriquet, "The Athens of the South," therefore reflects the influence of its educators: Philip Lindsley bestowed the name on the city, and roughly a century later, Nashville, like Athens, was "A City of Iris," or "The Iris City," due largely to the Kirklands.[7] The iris, incidentally, is the state flower of Tennessee, and the tulip poplar is the state tree; and

both are well-represented in the Nashville area, for instance the campus of Peabody College, and Tulip Grove plantation.

The Fugitives

Many reasons have been given to account for the rise of a group of poets and writers at Vanderbilt University in the 1920's, who were known as the Fugitives. At one time or another the group included Sidney Mttron Hirsch, James Marshall Frank, Alfred Starr, Jesse Wills, Alec Brooks Stevenson, William Yandell Elliott, John Crowe Ransom, Donald Davidson, Allen Tate, Robert Penn Warren, Merrill Moore, Walter Clyde Curry, Cleanth Brooks, Jr., and others. From this group have come a Pulitzer Prize winner, several poets of reputation, a prominent psychiatrist, several corporation executives, professors, editors, and perhaps the dominant school of literary criticism in the United States.[8] These writers had uncommon ability, but they also had a certain freshness, appearing at a time when (1) H. L. Mencken and others were stressing, quite unfairly, "the intellectual sterility of the South" and (2) F. Scott Fitzgerald, and others, had convinced millions of Americans that college youths primarily aspired for roadsters, raccoon coats, and that sort of thing.

Nashville had variously attracted, nurtured, or produced literary workers before; for instance, one of the best of Nashville's writers, Randal W. McGavock was mayor in the 1850's. For Nashville to have had so many fine writers, at the same time, centered around one campus, nevertheless remains a literary phenomenon, rather unique in the history of the United States in the 20th Century. Those interested in exploring the significance of the Fugitive group in Nashville's history should not lose sight of the fact that they immensely deepened the city's prestige and attractiveness, in such a way as to help attract strong students and strong teachers to the community.

The Grand Ole Opry

In the 1920's, the radio and stage revue, the Grand Ole Opry, with George Hay, "The Solemn Old Judge," presiding master of ceremonies, won WSM a large and loyal following. As in

the instance of the Fugitives, many reasons are often given for the success of the Opry; but it is not always noted that soon after the War Between the States, untold thousands of banjos, mandolins, guitars, and harmonicas were distributed from Nashville to many parts of the South, as has been indicated earlier. In time, the modern marvel of radio, one of the first giants of electronics, would attract the native talent of the vicinity. Some of the Fugitives were stimulated by the same virile heritage which was expressed in tunes played on the original Opry, such as *The Eighth of January.* At the same time, WSM's programming was not exclusively a matter of informal type music, since the station for many years has provided opportunity for well-trained musicians. At present WSM is the only Nashville radio station to have its own "live" orchestra; and it has been a leading influence in winning the name "Music City, U. S. A.," for Tennessee's capital.[9]

Business

On August 1, 1928, General Foods Corporation announced acquisition of Nashville's Cheek-Neal Company, of Maxwell House coffee fame, for a consideration of $16,600,000 in cash —four times what the L&N paid for control of the NC&StL in 1880—and 414,789 shares of General Foods stock.[10] At the time and for many years afterwards this was reportedly Nashville's largest financial transaction.

Coffee, at one time obtained for a cheap price, processed inexpensively, and moved or distributed without severe problems, with great value for its bulk, long has been a factor in Nashville's business history. Traditionally, the old Maxwell House specialized in a good cup of coffee, and gave its name to the Cheek-Neal product. Traditionally, the famous slogan, "Good to the last drop," was one of Theodore Roosevelt's sayings when he visited Nashville.

"Fit for a King" Coffee, prepared by the H. G. Hill Company, of Nashville, was accounted to have been a factor in Hill's success. In December, 1930, Hill's celebrated thirty-five years in business, and operated 600 grocery stores in Tennessee,

Alabama, Louisiana, and Kentucky.[11] Another factor was self-rising flour; even now Nashville is said to distribute more self-rising flour than any city in the world. One remembers lines shouted by Uncle Dave Macon, the late "Dixie Dewdrop," on the Grand Ole Opry as a piece of informal evidence:

> "How many biscuits, can you eat?
> For breakfast, this morning?
> Forty-nine, and a ham of meat,
> For breakfast, this morning."

By 1929, the Nashville investment house, Caldwell and Company, with offices on Fifth and Union, controlled assets of $497 million and more, and was the South's largest investment house, one of the largest in the U. S. when the crash came.[12]

Population

Whatever the "Roaring Twenties" were for Nashville, they assuredly were times of spectacular population growth, as the following will suggest. In 1900, Nashville had a city limits population of 80,865, which increased to 110,364 ten years later; in 1920, the tally was 118,342, growing to 153,866, in 1930, or 35,000 increase (about the size of Jackson, Tenn.). By going forward a little the significance will be made clearer, perhaps. In 1940, there were 167,402 persons living inside the city limits, increased to a total of 174,307, in 1950. City limits Nashville has experienced slow growth since 1930, but the population just outside the city has jumped from 68,988 in that year to 147,451; city limits Nashville has increased by 7,000 population, compared with more than ten times that number for outside Nashville.

The City's Direction

In the *Report, Nashville Traffic Survey, 1921*, it was pointed out that for quite some time Nashville's downtown district had been expanding in a direction southwesterly of the Public Square, originally the trade center. Steep grades between Church Street and Broadway were a determining factor; and the moving of the Penitentiary from Church Street in the

1880's enhanced its suitability. Technically, the *Traffic Survey* noted, Church and Broad could be considered one artery, developed as they were on one fairly-well-defined ridge.

The Period, in Brief

While Nashville responded to many national patterns, including such informal ones as the sun tan, the use of such French words as *chic*, setting-up exercises, and accepted such national institutions as the automobile, as a symbol of status, meantime showing worry about young people, obviously it did not forsake individuality. There was healthy concern to the effect that the city should be made more attractive; in June, 1926, a long-discussed smoke abatement ordinance was passed. One bank failed in the national depression's wake, and two banks merged in Nashville, while bank clearings dropped from over a billion dollars in 1930 to six hundred million in 1931, with bank deposits being sheared down from one hundred million in 1930 to sixty-one million dollars three years later. Not until the crash defense program and its heavy spending in the forties were the 1930 financial levels reached again in "The Wall Street of the South."

The period had a severe strike, involving NC&StL Shopmen, part of a national disturbance, a controversial mayor in Hilary E. Howse (1909–15, 1924–38), and an especially strong high school in the old Hume-Fogg. In the fall of 1930, Miss Mary Louise Goodwin, English instructor, named Randall Jarrell to the staff of Hume-Fogg's prize-winning student literary magazine; and he has since became a noted poet and critic.[13]

Armistice Day, 1927, a solemn moment was made doubly so when the Ladies Battlefield Association unveiled the beautiful Peace Monument, Franklin Road and Thompson Lane. It occupies the site of a redoubt built by the courageous Army of Tennessee in the Battle of Nashville; and it commemorates the end of the conflict between the North and the South. For all its extravagance, which may well be exaggerated, the Roaring Twenties, in Nashville at least, were times when people worked gratefully to acknowledge the community's heritage.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

FDR Was the Last, and a Backward Glance

The morning of november 17, 1934, president and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt arrived by train for a tightly-organized brief visit in the capital of Tennessee. Nashville has, for various reasons, been a city much visited by Presidents and by aspirants for that high office; and this chapter will briefly suggest some of the reasons why this is the case.[1]

It may be informative to take a brief look at some of the visits which preceded the one by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, from the standpoint of possible reasons for coming, and what they showed about the political and social history of Nashville. This short review is not intended to be exhaustive nor particularly searching in its details, but, nevertheless, may serve to suggest interesting aspects of Nashville's political and social climate. Indeed, The Visit is a significant feature of Nashville's general social history throwing light on the hospitality, leadership, and political attitudes of the city at various times. Thus it is one of those characteristics of Nashville which relates to the theme of continuity which this book has been tracing.

Reasons

Clearly, any presidential visit, or one by a presidential candidate, must have its practical reasons for being made. One



Courtesy of Nashville Chamber of Commerce

THE UPPER ROOM

The world's most widely used devotional guide is symbolized in the non-denominational shrine, The Upper Room Chapel, that features a polychrome wood carving of "The Last Supper," said to be the largest in the world. The carving is a copy of Leonardo da Vinci's painting and is done in lime-wood and walnut. It is the work of the noted Italian sculptor, Ernest Pellegrini, whose carvings are in many of the most famous cathedrals and churches in America.

The chapel is open to the public daily at 1908 Grand Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee.



Courtesy of Nashville Chamber of Commerce

THE HERMITAGE

The Hermitage, home of Andrew Jackson, the Seventh President of the United States, is located 12 miles from Nashville, Tennessee. It is furnished throughout with articles used by General Jackson and his family. The museum contains the personal belongings of the Jack-

need only to look at the personal memoirs of Senator John Sherman, brother of General Sherman, to be informed of these. The city, he wrote, had a certain midway location; though it was southern, it was not *deeply* south. Too, there was the tradition represented by the old Whigs, which to a Republican like Senator Sherman, even a Civil War Republican, did not lack in appeal. Then, Tennessee's capital had its Republicans, and some of them were prominent men. Most of the visits since the Civil War to Nashville have been by Republican presidents; with Franklin D. Roosevelt one of the few Democratic presidents to come while holding the office.

Before Senator Sherman's visit in 1887, and the visit of President and Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, eight years earlier, there had been an hiatus of visitors of such distinction, since the death of Old Hickory in 1845. Both as general and as president, Jackson may be considered as having started the tradition of high level visitation. Some of the highlights of what we are calling The Visit might be interesting at this time.

Hayes

President and Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes came to Nashville by train in September, 1879, undoubtedly coming to Nashville as part of his cultivation of the South. The President called on Mrs. James K. Polk at Polk Place, visited Ward's Seminary for Young Ladies, participated in the laying of the cornerstone of the new Customs House, and made a speech to the legislature in which he touched upon, among other topics, the significance of Nashville in the education of persons of the Negro race. He was well received by the industrial leaders of the city, particularly by President E. W. Cole, of the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis. At the Cole home, Terrace Place, on Church Street, the largest formal reception in the history of Nashville was given, in honor of the President, who shook hands with the more than 2,000 persons invited to the reception. There was such a multitude of guests that two bands were required to provide music above the sounds of the crowd.

Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt first visited Nashville in 1888, coming to find material for his book, *The Winning of the West*, which later did much to show the significance of the Cumberland Settlements in the westward movement. He returned in 1907, as president, continuing the tradition laid down by his predecessor, McKinley, whose visit to the Tennessee Centennial had delighted so many.

In truth, it is difficult to say just what the first Roosevelt had on his mind when he visited Nashville the second time. At the Ryman Auditorium he made a conventional reference to President Andrew Jackson in what was announced as a ten minute speech. The topic was so intriguing that Teddy proceeded to talk 22 minutes on Jackson before returning to his prepared text. Afterwards, he went to the Hermitage by automobile. Thomas W. Wrenne, chairman of the committee on local arrangements, issued this caution: "Those accompanying the President to the Hermitage are especially cautioned to operate their cars with the greatest care and judgment. To do this it is absolutely essential that all machines shall remain not less than the length of five telephone poles (an eighth of a mile) apart."

Among those welcoming the President to the Hermitage were Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence, Mrs. Mary C. Dorris, Mrs. John Allison, Mrs. Benton McMillin, Mrs. G. W. Fall, Mrs. B. F. Wilson, Mrs. Joe Forde, Mrs. M. S. Cockrill, Mrs. Walter Allen, Miss Louise Lindsley, and other members of the Ladies Hermitage Association. The special serving committee included Miss Medora Jones, Mrs. B. F. Wilson, Mrs. H. B. Stubblefield, Mrs. John M. Gray, Jr., and Mrs. Maggie L. Hicks.

Roosevelt was keenly interested in the Hermitage, and was instrumental in securing a modest Congressional appropriation used for repairs and improvements on the property.

Taft

McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, three Republicans in succession, all visited Nashville. William Howard Taft was well-

known in Nashville, having been a Federal judge there earlier. He stayed at the new Hermitage Hotel (completed in 1910), and, November 9, 1911, was honored guest at Nashville's largest formal banquet. A Nashville attorney, Judge Jacob McGavock Dickinson, was Taft's Secretary of War; and he was toastmaster at the banquet.

For the first time in Nashville's history, ladies were seated at table with the men at a public banquet; the movement for women's rights was gathering force. Among those listed in the press as having attended the banquet were the names of Mrs. John M. Gray, Jr., Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Mrs. Johnson Bransford, Mrs. W. S. Bransford, Mrs. Eugene S. Shannon, Mrs. Daniel Buntin, Mrs. Blair Smith, Mrs. Percy Warner, Mrs. Luke Lea, Miss Margaret Warner, Miss Louise Lindsley, Mrs. A. M. Shook, Mrs. H. A. Batchelor, Jr., Mrs. E. A. Price, Mrs. W. G. Ewing, Mrs. J. D. Torrey, Mrs. A. B. Newell, Mrs. A. S. Caldwell, Mrs. W. A. Dunlap, Mrs. W. H. Washington, Mrs. J. S. Beasley, and Mrs. C. C. Sullivan.

The Second Roosevelt

President Woodrow Wilson never visited Nashville as occupant of the White House (his brother, Joseph R. Wilson, was an editor of the *Banner;* and his father was well-known for his Presbyterian works at Clarksville). But a man whom he greatly influenced, Franklin D. Roosevelt, came to Nashville twice while president, first on a general tour, and second, to attend the funeral of the Hon. Joseph W. Byrnes, Speaker of the House. Discussion here will pertain to the first visit.

It was announced that Roosevelt wanted to see the Tennessee capital city, which was part of the region that was to be influenced by the new Tennessee Valley Authority; interestingly, a man who contested FDR for the presidency, the late Wendell L. Willkie, first gained public prominence as a result of electric power litigation in Nashville, which in part was caused by TVA. In 1934, Nashville had weathered the national depression, not having experienced the extreme distress of the heavy industrial centers, hard though its depression days were. A man of Roosevelt's known lively intellect could

hardly have failed to have been interested in observing first-hand the place that had produced the Fugitive poets, and more recently the so-called Agrarian writers, who had published a co-operative book, *I'll Take My Stand*, that caused a stir. In general, the book took to task the long-proposed panacea for the much-publicized problems of the South, more and more industry; and was a fresh emphasis after so many years of New South doctrine. It was interesting that many of the Agrarian writers had connection with Vanderbilt University, endowed by an industrialist, and whose board chairman at the time they appeared was Whitefoord R. Cole, first Nashvillian to be president of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad.

President and Mrs. Roosevelt were in town for about four hours, during which time the President saw the Capitol, passed Vanderbilt University, observed the Parthenon, saw Fisk University, and had late breakfast at the Hermitage. Mrs. Reau E. Folk, Regent, Ladies Hermitage Association welcomed the distinguished visitors, who arrived in a fast-moving, 25-car entourage. Under the skilled supervision of Mrs. Spencer Eakin, riced eggs had been prepared for President Roosevelt, not escalloped eggs, as has so often been stated. They were riced and beaten with bacon crumbs, and had bread crumbs on top. Turkey hash, apple rings served on a silver platter with good, country sausage garnished with parsley, hominy croquettes, genuine beaten biscuits, hot coffee, and pure honey were eaten with real delight by the Chief Executive. Mrs. Roosevelt left a wreath on the Jackson Tomb, just as she had placed one on the Polk Tomb; and then the Roosevelts were whisked away.

Mrs. Eakin's riced eggs received wide mention, on radio, and in the press; actually, there were offers made to purchase the recipe, but she refused to commercialize her skills. These offers provided an informal index to the age of swift communications, and to the fascination involved in whatever the President of the United States of America does.

Though the Roosevelts tarried only a short time, they did not miss much, seeing Ward-Belmont, the Jere Baxter statue

on Broad Street, a source of much irritation to NC&StL executives, and the other attractions which have been mentioned. The *Tennessean* remarked, "No time was lost. The President had a schedule to follow and he stuck by it."

Official Route of Presidential Parade

Leaving Union Station 8:00 A.M., going east on Broadway to 9th Avenue; north on 9th Avenue to Union Street; East on Union Street to Capitol Boulevard; north on Capitol Boulevard to Cedar Street; east on Cedar Street to 6th Avenue; north on 6th Avenue to the driveway entrance of the Capitol grounds; thence around the Capitol, stopping at Polk's Tomb; thence back to 6th Avenue, going South on 6th Avenue, crossing Cedar Street to Deaderick Street; east on Deaderick Street, crossing the Public Square and bridge to North Second Street; thence north on Second Street to Gallatin Avenue, or Main Street; thence east on Main Street and Gallatin Road to the Old Hickory Road, crossing the river on the new bridge, passing through Old Hickory to the Hermitage.

Leaving the Hermitage about 9:45 A.M., returning via Lebanon Road through Donelson to Hermitage Avenue and 1st Avenue to Broadway; thence west on Broadway to 21st Avenue, South; thence south on 21st Avenue to Acklen Avenue; thence east on Acklen Avenue, through Belmont College Campus to point of entrance; thence west on Acklen Avenue to 21st Avenue; thence north on 21st Avenue to south entrance of Peabody College Campus; thence around Peabody circle back to 21st Avenue; thence north on 21st Avenue to the Hospital entrance of Vanderbilt University; thence through Vanderbilt Campus to West End Avenue; thence west on West End Avenue to main entrance of Centennial Park; thence around the Parthenon and back to West End Avenue; thence east on West End to Elliston Place; thence east on Elliston Place to Church Street; thence east on Church Street to 17th Avenue, North; thence north on 17th Avenue to Fisk University; thence west on Harding Street to 18th Avenue to Jackson Street; thence east on Jackson Street to 17th Avenue; thence south on 17th Avenue to West End Avenue; thence east via Broadway to Union Station.

Brainard Cheney, local journalist and later well-known novelist, rode the Presidential Special that took Roosevelt to

Warm Springs. He reported that President Roosevelt said of his Nashville visit, "That was a tremendous crowd—it must have been close to 300,000—unless some of them were doubling back and coming up the next street."

CHAPTER NINETEEN

"The Big Mecca"

In world war i, no appreciable number of armed Service personnel were taught how to make war on Tennessee soil, but in World War II, more than 2 million men were so trained within the borders of the Volunteer State. One of the reasons for this distinction was the nature of Tennessee's terrain; a variety of landscape, offering many problems to solve, could be obtained within relatively short distance. It may well be that, mile for mile, in proportion to the size of the state, Tennessee led the nation in contributing to the seasoning of the civilian Armed Forces. That this was not a passive contribution, but one that derived much from the co-operative attitude of the Tennessee people, was recognized by the Army, as will be indicated.[1]

More than 600,000 men participated in the Middle Tennessee War Games, or Maneuvers, 1941–1945, and unreckoned scores of thousands were trained at big Camp Campbell, big Camp Forrest, and the major Smyrna Air Base, and other installations. Nashville was the biggest city in the area dominated by these training centers. Its streets, restaurants, stores, and transportation facilities all amply demonstrated that fact. By and large, the presence of so many individuals in uniform was taken in stride by Nashville, another indication of a certain poise and resourcefulness found often in its history.

Memories

Without attempting to indicate all, or even most, of the important events in Nashville during World War II, there are

certain memories that could be mentioned: the poignant scenes at the Union Station when the selectee trains departed; the famous photograph taken by a local press photographer which showed a young father who was holding his small daughter up for a final goodbye kiss, while he leaned out the window of the coach, and the child had no expression on her countenance; the lounge at First Presbyterian Church, which cared for more than 14,000 soldiers, 1942–1945, one of many such facilities, and many, many others.

The Big Mecca

There was a restaurant on Church Street, on the corner across from Castner's, known as "The Mecca," and it had a heavy military patronage, but the name was officially bestowed upon Nashville by *The Bounce*, newspaper of the 81st Division. *The Bounce* noted that Nashville in late 1942, was accommodating an influx of 80,000 soldiers in a single weekend without any really major strain. It concluded, "The 'Mecca' for recreation-hungry doughboys, naturally, is Nashville."

The Big Money

Nashville's banking facilities handled many millions of dollars for the Armed Services represented so hugely in the area. In the summer of 1942, for instance, $3,500,000 in cash was moved from Nashville to Lebanon, from Lebanon to Army paymasters in the field, one of the largest movements of cash in Nashville's history. Personnel involved included Jimmy Smith, chief teller, Commerce Union Bank, Nashville, Nixon Webb, Utility teller, Dave Brantley, and W. F. Norris, Commerce-Union vice-president; at the branch in Lebanon, George R. Boulton, cashier, Joe Smith, teller, and Batey Graham worked under the supervision of James Kellam, while Col. J. A. Otto, Memphis, and Col. Fred A. Weise, Nashville, represented the Army.

A Military Center

As the maneuvers and the "real thing" continued, Nashville grew accustomed to the roar of four-motored planes from

nearby Smyrna Air Base, long convoys from Camp Campbell, and many other sights, sounds, and impressions of a cruel war. The city became a major military medical center as the new 155-building Thayer General Hospital received a total of more than 13,000 men who had been wounded overseas, about half the population of Nashville in 1860. The $4 million installations on Thompson Lane were used at first to classify pilots, bombardiers, and navigators, then became one of the first Air Force convalescent hospitals. At war's end, the Navy was using the facilities as a demobilization center.

General Henry Harley Arnold, on his way to the new five-star rank of general of the Army, later general of the Air Force, made an inspection of the aerial facilities in the Nashville area, including the Vultee plant, and the 20th Ferrying Group at Nashville's Municipal Airport (Berry Field), which was leased by the Army for $1 a year. The General said that Nashville had about as much representation from his branch of the services as any city in the country.

Many valuable services were rendered the Navy and the war effort by the Nashville Bridge Company, which established production records, and early received the coveted "E." And the Nashville Chamber of Commerce gave many hours to detailed and elaborate surveys for the Armed Forces, among other acts of support. There is no doubt but that when any of the city's plants received a "War Contract," the civilian workers, most of them native-born, exerted just a little extra effort, which was duly reflected in the many "E" banners awarded Nashville companies.

Good Will

The hearty approval of Nashville by *The Bounce* of the 81st was probably never seen by the large majority of the city's inhabitants, who also would have had no reason for seeing a letter written by Lt. Col. Harold B. Cornwall, commander of an extremely sensitive army unit. This was the 4475th Board of Rents and Claims, Army Service Forces. Nashville was the "Big Town" of the area which Colonel Cornwall described as follows: "I feel that the country as a whole owes a debt of

gratitude to the civilian population of the Tennessee maneuver area . . . One of the surprizing things has been that in spite of maneuvers that have rubbed away the top-soil of valuable farm lands, churned roads and streets into quagmires, robbed homes of their privacy and resulted in vast material damage . . . there has been no criticism or complaint of any consequence."

Local good will has come to be valued by the United States Army, and other branches of the Service; it is well-known that without local co-operation life at a post or on maneuvers can be miserable, with devastating effects on morale of the individual men. No doubt the point will seem obvious, but, even so, it seemed worthy of being made.

Studying War

Co-operative Tennessee communities made it possible for the U. S. Army to conduct the most systematic study of the arts and skills of war in its history. One of the men who emerged with a sensational record from this schooling experience was George S. Patton, Jr., who later won advancement to four stars. In Tennessee, American armor was given its first intensive try-out under conditions of simulated warfare. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson was among the governmental leaders who came to Middle Tennessee to observe first-hand the maneuvers.

A high-ranking officer wrote a friend just before the grim Bastogne Campaign in December, 1944: "The same kind of training the boys got in the recurrent capture of Rome and Carthage and Hunters Point is carrying them over the same kind of river crossings in the mud and snow that is a climate and terrain duplicate of what the boys went through last summer in Tennessee. When you join us you'll think you are back at Doaks Crossroads."

Effects

For Nashville, the effects of being the big town in a major military region were sometimes compared to "the second Yankee invasion"; there were perennial jokes about the pen-

chant of the Army for sending its Southern people to the frozen North and its Northern people to the sunshine of the South. The Grand Ole Opry's personnel and management went out of their way to provide the best possible shows for the boys; and the Opry won the lasting friendship of many a lad who had never heard that kind of music before, a factor in the popularity of the show in the North at present.

As the Allies began to push toward victory, plans were made for the occupation of European cities; and the Army sent people to the Tennessee State Archives to do research on the 1861–65 occupation. An occupation is never a picnic, but the data the Army's researchers found in all probability contributed to a somewhat more enlightened understanding of what an occupation ought to be.

Sewart Air Force Base

Though Sewart Air Force Base is located in the northwestern part of Rutherford County, the Nashville Chamber of Commerce, in co-operation with Murfreesboro and Smyrna, the town nearest the base, had much to do with locating the original installation in 1941–42. Lt. Col. Stanley M. Umstead in February, 1942, took command of the base, which was the first big bomber school in the United States.

In the language of the contemporary Army History of Smyrna Air Field, "Smyrna was to be the forerunner of four-engine schools and a site, such as this, was, to say the least, a central location among the three training center headquarters operating under the Army Air Forces Training Program." The fact that Nashville had excellent hospitals, schools, and many churches, all contributing to the overall attractiveness, was stressed. Furthermore, Nashville was southern relay point for Western Union, focal point of rail and vehicular traffic for a large area, and was an ideal shipping and purchasing point for the post's more basic needs. There was a vast reservoir of native-born workers. The State of Tennessee in House Bill No. 669, by Speaker John Ed O'Dell and Ragon, passed Feb. 11, 1941, allowed the State to acquire lands and provide for lease of the same to the Federal government, "Whereas,

the State of Tennessee has never shirked a responsibility or obligation throughout its history and does not propose to do so at this time."

The result was the earliest major installation for training pilots and mechanics for the famed B-17's, Flying Fortresses, and the B-24's, the Liberators. Also at this base, the first synthetic tires sold to the Army were tested, radio operators were trained, and in general a major contribution to the war effort was made. Later in Korea, personnel from this base flew millions of miles dropping supplies and airborne infantry, and won fame for manning helicopters in evacuating the wounded.

On March 25, 1950, as part of a nation-wide Air Force commemoration, Smyrna Air Field was dedicated as Sewart Air Force Base, in honor of Major Allan J. Sewart, Jr., who had attended Hume-Fogg High School. His father, Sergeant A. J. Sewart, was chief caretaker and mechanic of the 105th Observation Squadron, first at old Blackwood Field, near the Hermitage, and later at McConnell Field, now McCabe Park. The 105th was reportedly America's first National Air Guard Squadron.

Major Sewart was at Pearl Harbor the time of the Japanese attack, saw his first fighting in the battle of Midway and was killed in action in the Solomons, 18 November, 1942. He was leading five heavy bombardment planes against enemy objectives near Buin, Solomon Islands; and he could not release a 1,000 pound bomb. In the face of continuous and close attack by approximately 18 enemy land-based and flat type fighters, Major Sewart did not turn away from the attack even though he could not release his bomb. Shortly following this action, Major Sewart lost his life and his co-pilot was mortally wounded during a frontal attack by an enemy fighter pilot.

Sewart Air Force Base continues to the present time, home of the 839th Air Division, part of the Tactical Air Command, and including the 314th and 513th Troop Carrier Wings and the 839th Air Base Group. Colonel Edwin R. Bane, a member of the bar of the State of Kansas, and admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court and the Court of Mili-

tary Appeals, is base commander. Mrs. Bane is also a member of the Kansas Bar. Colonel Albert V. Endress, a graduate of the University of Texas, is commander of the 839th Air Division.

This base with its vital mission of supply and transportation is an essential part of America's defenses. The Sewart population, with an average of 4,000 military personnel and 500 civilian employees, has an approximate annual payroll of $11,500,000 and $1,600,000 respectively. Over 5 million dollars a year is spent annually by the base in purchases. A study shows that approximately $19,000,000 a year from the base finds its way into the civilian community, including Nashville.

CHAPTER TWENTY

Nashville: The Dream Continues

It was exactly one hundred and eighty years ago this Christmas that the settlement of Nashville began. The town has been the longest-continued large municipal enterprise west of the historic barrier of the Appalachians. It now is an orderly, hospitable, well-lighted, ongoing metropolitan community whose inhabitants outnumber the original Robertson-Donelson-Gasper band by a thousand fold.

But a city is something more than a census enumeration. A city's ideas, attitudes, and deeper values also are significant. Has Nashville had a dream of its reason for being?

In a sense, the query climaxes this entire book; and it is an earnest, serious one. In fullest accuracy, the answer may be phrased in the ringing affirmative: Yes, this place called Nashville has had an intelligent and honorable vision of what it might do and might become. Wonderfully, this vision or dream in this prosperous 180th year more nearly is realized than at any other previous time.

Two Mayors Testify

At the start of this book, the prophecy of Mayor Randal W. McGavock was cited, to the effect that Nashville in 1859, when he spoke, was moving steadily toward that favora-

ble "destination marked out by the advantages of position, fertility of soil, salubrity of climate, and the enterprise of the people."

Then the tides of war engulfed the city; and Mayor McGavock was one of the many fine sons of Tennessee's capital who gave their lives for the Confederacy. High principles and bravery were not enough. A long and galling occupation cost the city much, especially in terms of self-respect.

Then there followed the Reconstruction, which is not to rake up old bitternesses; and after that for many years a deadly health problem. In the late seventies, Dr. J. Berrien Lindsley, and other physicians devoted their time, energies, and best efforts to building the community's health. In one episode, for instance, a team of physicians walked the streets, braving the hostility of the ignorant, to vaccinate people against smallpox.

The Tennessee Centennial, the victory of Jere Baxter, and Nashville's fine record in World War I all were indications, each in their own way, that the city had survived the country's most devastating war. Then, in all the confusions of the Roaring Twenties, an inspired Board of Park Commissioners built the Parthenon, probably Nashville's most significant civic building. Vanderbilt and Peabody and other schools achieved lasting power; and, meantime, a tradition of a dedicated clergy was sustained.

Grim financial depression ended the nation's Twenties. The Hitler police state and the Communist and Fascist menaces rose in Europe; twice since 1940–41, Nashvillians have gone off to war. In many households of this city there is no need to ask the question, "But is the Cold War real?" The most terrible experience a family may endure has been shared in all too many homes, the result of an as-yet-unnamed "incident" in Korea. Since Korea some 7,000 of our people in the Armed Forces have lost their lives in maintaining this country's defense readiness; and some of them have been Nashvillians.

Thus, to look calmly and steadily at this contemporary Nashville is to see, first of all, that the one basic over-riding problem is the same here as it is elsewhere. It is a matter of

maintaining the promise of American life. A second observation is made.

That is the unfolding drama of opportunity in Nashville, a city which originated in private enterprise, and was sustained by people willing to fight for what they had. In the spring of 1959, Mayor Ben West declared that Nashville today is "alive and vigorous and dynamic." This city being transformed owes much of its present substance to its past, the dream the founders had and were willing to accept as a responsibility.

John Sloan's Striking Term

Local business executive, John Sloan, Chairman of the Central City Committee, of the Greater Nashville Program, Nashville Chamber of Commerce, gave a dramatic address at the Community Progress Program, Hermitage Hotel, June 10, 1959, in which he used the terms "Central City Renaissance" and "living renaissance" for postwar Nashville's astonishing improvement. It is worth quoting what Mr. Sloan said:

"The subject to which we now address our attention . . . Central City Renaissance . . . is more than a colorful phrase; it is a real-life example of the dictionary definition of renaissance as "rebirth . . . or renewal of life." That is exactly what is happening in Nashville's Central City."

Nearly Fifty Million

At this writing (mid 1959), nearly fifty million dollars have been spent in three years in the central city on such new developments as:

1. The Life and Casualty Tower
2. The Cain-Sloan Store and joint parking facilities
3. The Harvey's development, a block-long
4. The new Grant store and new facilities for famed Watkins Institute
5. Acquisition of adjacent land by Castners
6. The Baptist Sunday School Board Operations Building
7. The Federal Reserve Bank
8. The Methodist Publishing House
9. Sears, Roebuck and Company



NASHVILLE IN 1955



NASHVILLE IN 1958

Meantime, the Capitol Hill Redevelopment Project, launched ten years ago, has been a greenlight for progress in a one-time slum district which allegedly was noted for lights of another shade. Already it has added twelve blocks of efficient and usable area to the central business district. At this writing $12 million in new construction is underway, including the 12-story, 205 unit, luxury apartment building to be known as the Capitol Towers. Mention should be made, also, of at least two major motel developments in the downtown area, the Civic Auditorium, the nationally-praised efficiency of the Nashville Transit Company, builder of the city's best mass transit operation in history, and the beautiful new building of the Chamber of Commerce, headed since 1949 by such presidents as Joel B. Fort, Jr., E. W. McGovern, W. S. Hackworth, F. C. Sowell, E. B. Stahlman, Jr., Wilbur F. Creighton, Jr., H. Herbert Corson, Victor S. Johnson, Jr., Larry J. Mulhall, P. D. Houston, Jr., and T. P. Kennedy, Jr.

A Living Renaissance

As Mr. Sloan pointed out, Nashville's central city renaissance is one that fully recognizes the value of such suburban development as Madison Square and Green Hills shopping centers, soon to be joined by others. The greater city will progress when all of its portions are vital and strong. Nashville has been among the nation's leading cities in evolving and maintaining this concept.

What is involved, actually, is a renaissance of one of the Republic's truly historic cities; and it is a rebirth which will not lose its promise and meaning as time passes. Any person who loves Nashville can hardly fail to be encouraged by the depth and value of the planning and resulting projects now underway.

For example, just across the river East Nashville has a gigantic Urban Renewal Project second in size only to one in Philadelphia. H. E. Flippen, Chairman of the Urban Renewal Committee of the aforementioned Greater Nashville Program, has spelled out the great significance of all that is involved. An area of 2,051 acres will be improved and be made efficient,

and the insidious damage of the fearful fire of forty years ago at last will be remedied.

Consideration is being given to converting Church Street, between Eighth Avenue and Fourth Avenue, into a pedestrian mall for an experimental period. A movement has been scheduled for the replacement of stick-out signs with flat signs, for purposes of beautification.

Ed Shea, of the Chamber of Commerce, and a Vanderbilt graduate, is one of those advocating a "Presidential Plaza" for the Public Square, to commemorate Presidents Jackson, Polk, and Johnson. A city needs its heritage and particularly so in this era of a war which is cold.

Any journey in and around greater Nashville will show that its renaissance will not be like a sky rocket, but is composed of elements which will long add luster to Nashville, Athens of the South, the Iris City, the Trade Center of the Mid-South, the City of Opportunity. One thinks of Vanderbilt's new Divinity School, headed by a world-renowned theologian, Dean Robert Nelson, the new Health Center, to be opened in December, 1959, a monument to Dr. John Jackson Lentz, the phenomenal success of *Home Life* Magazine, edited by Dr. Joe W. Burton, also, the *Upper Room,* edited by Dr. J. Manning Potts, and historian Stanley Horn's *Southern Lumberman,* and Fred Cloud's *Christian Action.*

All the hospitals of the area have underway major building programs; and a $16 million Veteran's Administration hospital will be built here. The DuPont Company, which in World War I saved the area from economic stagnation, has earmarked $30 million for expansion; and another giant of the American economy, Ford, has built here the world's largest glass plant of its type. Gates Rubber Company will build a plant capable of producing 10,000 automobile tires a day, to serve the entire eastern United States; and that young genius of America's economy, Genesco, has passed a $200 million volume, and will build one of the finest industrial parks in the world here, in the area in which it originated.

Victor S. Johnson and Aladdin Industries have been well received and have contributed to the renaissance, as have the

development of Thompson Lane, the L&N's Radnor freight facilities, and the elaborate new jet age municipal airport. Nashville now is served by six major airlines, numerous major trucking lines, pipelines, and barge companies.

Again and again, when one researches the story behind Nashville's Renaissance, the person learns that two factors contribute powerfully:

1. The factor of location
2. The general, all-inclusive climate

"Such an Interesting Place"

Nashville's general climate includes so much to see and do that a lady tourist from Ohio exclaimed not too long ago, "My, what an interesting place you have here." She added, "It's such an interesting place!"

Interest, significance, and depth are added by: the magnificent Tennessee State Library and Archives, adjacent to the Tennessee Supreme Court Building, erected at a cost of $2,500,000, and without close rival in its treasures pertaining to the history of the Volunteer State; the $1,300,000 Phillips Memorial, in the heart of the University Center, sponsored by the family of the late Thomas W. Phillips, distinguished Disciples of Christ layman, and a unique repository of the historical records of the Disciples of Christ; the superbly restored State Capitol, site of drama and aspiration; the Sam Davis statue, the Polk Tomb, Senator Edward Carmack's statue, and the Jackson statue, Centennial Park and its many historical markers, plus a full-sized steam locomotive; St. Mary's, Downtown Presbyterian Church, Belmont College, David Lipscomb College, Scarritt College, the Ryman Auditorium and the Grand Ole Opry, always a clean show, WSM, cheerful voice and channel, and its David Cobb, Jud Collins, Dave Overton, Grant Turner, Larry Munson, and others, Nashville's own Pat Boone, Dinah Shore, Delbert Mann, and many more, the murals in the Governor's Office and the State Office Building, the free-standing Puryear Mims sculpture at the Cordell Hull building, and the view from the Life and Casualty Tower. The Tennessee Theater, the finest in the South, has art work

in its inner lobby that depicts the heritage of the State. The Hermitage, Traveler's Rest, and Belle Meade are nearby.

Then, there is that dynamic thoroughfare, Broad Street–West End–Harding Road, and its many edifices dedicated to the worship of the Creator, the street of Churches. On this thoroughfare one comes to St. Cecilia-at-Overbrook, in a refreshing, new setting, continuing a century of dedicated works in this community, and passes West High School, Montgomery Bell Academy, Kirkland Hall, the Hippodrome, and other facilities and institutions that contribute to Nashville's overall substance and climate.

This Is the City

Nashville today has a 23 square mile area, smallest size of any major city in the Southland, has 525 manufacturing firms, over half of which employ fewer than 25 persons, and has the additional nickname, "The City of Diversified Economy." About 40,000 people are employed in industry, 25,000 in nondurable goods, including printing and publishing (prominent over a century here), and 19,000 in government service of all kinds. Over 150 Federal offices, representing various phases of the national government, are represented here. The highest average weekly earnings in April, 1959, were those of printing and publishing employees, $85.07, compared with $75.58 in all manufacturing, and $72.45 in food products.

This is the city where Maxwell House coffee originated; and Cheekwood, partly the result of the Cheek-Neal enterprise, has been given to the community by Mr. and Mrs. Walter Sharp for a unique botanical garden and fine arts center. Fred Russell writes about sports in a style which has made him a household name; and Sulphur Dell still bears the Grantland Rice touch. Walter Sullivan, Hugh Walker, Stanley Horn, William T. Alderson, Allen Pettus, Elmer Hinton, Albert Hines, Red O'Donnell, Alfred Leland Crabb, Donald Davidson and Brainard Cheney are continuing Nashville's tradition of good writers who have an understanding of the value and significance of a heritage. Dr. Dan M. Robison, Tennessee's Librarian and Archivist, is compiling a long-needed bio-

graphical directory of members of Tennessee's General Assembly, while Dr. Robert H. White has passed the fifth volume in his definitive *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee,* and Tennessee Book Company's Forrest F. Reed has developed the largest wholesale book concern in the South, with two million books in the inventory, and a specialty in local history.

Every fifth person is a student; Nashville has a major representation of privately-endowed schools, colleges, and universities; adult education was never stronger, with Watkins Institute, directed by Dr. John A. Hood, and the Nashville Center of the University of Tennessee, directed by Mr. J. B. Woods, adding immeasurably to the usefulness of the Athens of the South.

A famous Children's Museum, flourishing interest in the fine arts, Old Hickory Lake for recreational facilities, a cloverleaf highway plan second to none, spearheaded by the Chamber of Commerce and business executive Larry Mulhall, the color and excitement of the Iroquois Memorial Steeplechase, the Hillsboro Hounds and fox hunting in the rolling, lovely meadows, a God-fearing people—all these are some of the aspects of Nashville, one of America's most interesting cities.

Here Senator Albert Gore, commuting a long distance, earlier trained himself at the famed YMCA Law School for the practice of the law; former Governor Frank G. Clement is an attorney-at-law; and former Governor Hill McAlister long was a valued citizen. Governor Buford Ellington has purchased a farm in Middle Tennessee; and he teaches a Sunday School class at Glendale Methodist Church.

It is a city which has produced so many men and women of genius that trained eugenicists ranked Nashville second only to Cambridge, Massachusetts in this particular hallmark of excellence. James Robertson Parkway bears an honored name; and Mayor West has taken a personal interest in the restoration of City Cemetery, that link with those who laid out the dream of a city where the basic institutions, home, church, schools, law, private property, and the family were accepted and honored. In short, those very institutions harshly re-

jected by a menacing international system are vividly represented in the continuing development of Nashville, capital of the Volunteer State.

A Rich Heritage

Nashville's renaissance will continue to exert a vigorous influence for many years; and the same principle is true of the grand old town's heritage. It is a heritage rich in all the charm and wonder of life; and it is far more voluminous than one book could encompass.

Whether it is the frontier, the West, the glamorous fifties, the exertion and sacrifice of the sixties and seventies, the slow return to prosperity of the eighties and nineties, or the achievements of this century, Nashville offers much to the appreciative, serious-minded citizen.

Few themes in United States history hold more interest than the recovery of the war torn South. Today the southland may look to the future, while enjoying its prosperity and learning from its heritage. Nashville, quite as vital as Richmond and Washington in the tragic outpouring of blood, has shared in this spectacular recovery. In welcoming President McKinley and most of his cabinet to the Tennessee Centennial in June, 1897, Tennessee's Governor Robert L. "Bob" Taylor remarked unforgettably:

"Our honored guests shall see today . . . the triumphs of our brains and brawn and the tangible evidences of our activity. And some of them who saw our ruined country thirty years ago will certainly appreciate the fact that we have wrought miracles. If they will only look they shall be living witnesses of the victories we have won."

Given upright people who will dare to enterprise, Nashville's dream will continue, even more gracefully and brilliantly.

QUICK REFERENCE SECTION

Nashville's Mayors

1.	1806–08	Joseph Coleman
2.	1809–10	Benjamin J. Bradford
3.	1811–13	William Tait
4.	1814–16	Joseph T. Elliston
5.	1817	Stephen Cantrell, Jr.
6.	1818	Felix Robertson
7.	1819	Thomas Crutcher
8.	1820	James Condon
9.	1821	John P. Endin
10.	1822–23	Robert B. Currey
11.	1824	Randal McGavock
12.	1825–26	Wilkins Tannehill
13.	1827–28	Felix Robertson
14.	1829–32	William Armstrong
15.	1833	John M. Bass
16.	1834	John P. Erwin
17.	1835–36	William Nichol
18.	1837–38	Henry Hollingsworth
19.	1839–40	Charles C. Trabue
20.	1841	Samuel V. D. Stout
21.	1842	Thomas B. Coleman
22.	1843–44	Powhatan W. Maxey
23.	1845	John Hugh Smith
24.	1846	John A. Goodlett
25.	1847–48	Alexander Allison
26.	1849	John M. Lea
27.	1850–52	John Hugh Smith
28.	1853	Williamson H. Horn
29.	1854–55	Robert B. Castleman
30.	1856	Andrew Anderson
31.	1857	John A. McEwen
32.	1858	Randal W. McGavock
33.	1859	S. N. Hollingsworth
34.	1860–61	Richard B. Cheatham
35.	1862–64	John Hugh Smith
36.	1865–66	W. Matt Brown
37.	1867–68	A. E. Alden
38.	1869	John M. Bass
39.	1869–71	Kindred J. Morris
40.	1872–73	Thomas A. Kercheval
41.	1874	Morton B. Howell
42.	1875–83	Thomas A. Kercheval
43.	1884–85	C. Hooper Phillips
44.	1886–87	Thomas A. Kercheval
45.	1888–90	C. P. McCarver
46.	1891	William Litterer
47.	1892–95	G. B. Guild
48.	1896–97	W. M. McCarthy
49.	1898–99	R. H. Dudley
50.	1900–03	James M. Head
51.	1904–05	Albert S. Williams
52.	1906–07	Thomas O. Morris
53.	1908	James S. Brown
54.	1909–15	Hilary E. Howse
55.	1916–17	Robert Ewing
56.	1918–21	William Gupton
57.	1922–23	Felix Z. Wilson
58.	1924–38	Hilary E. Howse
59.	1939–51	Thomas L. Cummings
60.	1952–	Ben West

Judges of Davidson County Court

1856–66	James Whitworth
1866–70	William A. Glenn
1870–71	William K. Turner
1871	W. A. Glenn
1872	Thomas T. Smiley
1872–86	J. C. Ferriss
1887–94	R. C. Caldwell
1895–1902	J. C. Ferriss
1903–19	W. M. Pollard
1920–50	Litton Hickman
1951–	Beverly Briley

Chiefs, Nashville Fire Department

1871–83	William Stockell
1884	Andrew Meaders
1885–92	E. M. Carrell
1893–94	J. D. Alexander
1895–1900	E. M. Carrell
1901–19	Antonio A. Rozetta
1920–26	Joseph W. Weaver
1926–38	Frank A. Moore
1938–44	Jesse A. Scruggs
1944–57	H. D. Demonbreun
1957–	John Ragsdale

Presidents, Nashville Chamber of Commerce

Board of Trade	
1869–80	J. P. McGuire
1881–94	H. C. Hensley
Chamber of Commerce	
1894–1900	A. J. Harris
1901–02	William C. Collier
1903–04	H. W. Buttorff
1905	E. S. Shannon
Board of Trade	
1906	Leland Hume
1907	Samuel G. Douglas
1908	R. L. Burch
1909	E. W. Foster
1910	E. A. Lindsay
1911	Joseph Frank
1912	Houston Dudley
Commercial Club	
1913	C. H. Brandon
Board of Trade	
1913	Edgar M. Foster
Commercial Club	
1914	Arthur B. Ransom
1915	Beverly W. Landstreet
1916	R. B. Brannon
1917	George R. Gillespie
1918	Art J. Dyer
1919–20	H. G. Hill
Chamber of Commerce	
1921	V. G. Tupper
1922	George E. Bennie
1923	M. E. Derryberry
1924	R. D. Herbert
1925–26	Charles M. McCabe
1927–28	J. P. W. Brown
1929	J. A. Cayce
1930	J. W. Rowland
1931	Charles Barham
1932–33	Will T. Cheek
1934	William Gupton
1935–36	W. H. Lambeth
1937–38	William Ambrose
1939–40	Ira E. Parker
1941–42	T. Graham Hall
1943	John Sloan
1944	Charles Ragland
1945	Henry D. Jamison, Jr.
1946	Harry B. Dyer
1947	E. C. Tompkins
1948	Dudley Gale
1949	Joel B. Fort, Jr.
1950	W. S. Hackworth
1952	F. C. Sowell
1953	E. B. Stahlman, Jr.
1954	Wilbur F. Creighton, Jr.
1955	Herbert Corson
1956	V. S. Johnson, Jr.
1957	Larry J. Mulhall
1958	P. D. Houston, Jr.
1959–	T. P. Kennedy, Jr.

Sheriffs, Davidson County

1783–84	Daniel Williams
1785–86	Thomas Marston
1787	David Way
1788	Thomas Hickman
1789	Sampson Williams
1790	William Porter
1791–93	Sampson Williams
1794–98	Nicholas P. Hardiman
1799	Wright Williams
1800–01	Joseph Johnson
1802–07	John Boyd
1808–15	Michael C. Dunn
1816–17	Caleb Hewitt
1818–21	Thomas Hickman
1822–29	Joseph W. Horton
1830–35	Willoughby Williams
1836–38	Philip Campbell
1838–43	Felix R. Rains
1844–47	Churchill Lanier
1848–51	B. M. Barnes
1852–53	Littlebury W. Fussell
1854–57	Edward B. Bigley
1857	John K. Edmundson
1858	James Hinton
1859	Robert Campbell
1860–61	John K. Edmundson

1862–65	James M. Hinton
1866–67	E. E. Patterson
1868–72	C. M. Donelson
1872–75	E. D. Whitworth
1876–77	Francis M. Woodall
1878–80	John L. Price
1881–82	Tim Johnson
1883–86	T. E. Moore
1887–90	R. D. Marshall
1891–94	W. J. Hill
1895–98	J. D. Sharp
1899–1902	Lewis Hurt
1903–06	Thomas E. Cartwright
1907–08	Charles D. Johns
1909–12	Samuel H. Borum
1913–16	C. W. Longhurst
1917	Joe W. Wright
1918–19	James R. Allen
1920–24	R. L. Camp
1925–28	Bob Briley
1928–30	Gus Kiger
1930–34	Sam Shryer
1934–38	L. A. Bauman
1938–40	Ivey Young
1940–41	Bob Marshall
1941–46	Claude Briley
1946–52	Garner Robertson
1952–56	Thomas Cartwright
1956–	Thomas Cartwright, Jr.

Superintendents, Nashville Public Schools

1854–61	Joshua F. Pearl
1861–62	Return J. Meigs
1862–65	Vacant
1866–69	C. D. Lawrence
1869–86	Samuel Y. Caldwell
1887–97	Z. H. Brown
1897–1911	H. C. Weber
1911–17	J. J. Keyes
1918–30	H. C. Weber
1930	J. J. Keyes
1930–37	H. F. Srygley
1938–58	W. A. Bass
1958–	W. H. Oliver

Superintendents, Davidson County Schools

1871	A. C. Cartwright
1872–73	Samuel Donelson
1874–80	R. W. Weakley
1881–86	W. H. Ferrell
1887–92	W. Mack Fuqua
1893–1903	A. H. Wright
1904–06	W. M. Fuqua
1906–15	W. C. Anderson
1916–18	W. C. Dodson
1918–19	W. C. Anderson
1920–42	W. C. Dodson
1943–49	C. L. Brockett
1949–	J. E. Moss

Nashville Postmasters (Office Established 1796)

1796	John Gordon
1797–1801	William Stothart
1802–10	Robert Stothart
1811–25	Robert B. Currey
1826–28	John P. Erwin
1829–44	Robert Armstrong
1845–48	Leonard P. Cheatham
1849–52	John Shelby
1853–61	William D. McNish
1862	John Llyett
1862–66	Adrian V. Lindsley
1867–68	Bowling Embry
1869–70	Enos Hopkins
1871–73	William P. Prosser
1874–76	Herman W. Hasslock
1877–84	William P. Jones
1885	B. F. Cheatham
1886–87	Mrs. Annie B. Cheatham
1888	John H. Currey
1889–93	A. W. Wills
1894–97	Hampton J. Chaney
1898–13	A. W. Wills
1914–19	E. S. Shannon
1920–23	Charles M. McCabe
1924–28	Dr. W. J. O'Callahan
1929–32	O. F. Minton
1933–48	William Gupton
1948–	Lewis E. Moore

Chiefs, Nashville Police Department

High Constables (1806–1854)

1806–08	John Deatheridge
1808–14	David Moore
1814–16	James Condon
1816–18	Edmund Cooper
1818–20	R. Jarrett
1820–21	Allan McDean
1821–24	J. Grizzard
1824–28	C. Brooks
1828–29	William L. Willis
1829–32	George S. Grass
1832–33	Jefferson Cartwright
1833–40	E. B. Bigley
1840–41	M. E. Degrove
1841–44	E. B. Bigley
1844–46	James Morgan
1846–47	R. A. Cole
1847–54	Spencer Chandler

City Marshals (1854–69)

1854–57	J. L. Ryan
1857–63	W. Matt Brown
1863–65	John Chumley
1865–67	James H. Brantley
1867–68	A. A. Carter

Chiefs of Police (1869–)

1868–69	James H. Brantley
1869–74	D. H. Titman
1874–75	Tom Everett
1875–83	W. H. Yater
1884–87	M. Kerrigan
1888–98	J. Hadley Clack
1899–1914	Henry Curran
1915–21	Alex J. Barthell
1922–28	James W. Smith
1928–39	J. Lon Foster
1939–48	John F. Griffin
1948–56	Eugene Dillard
1956–	E. T. Hosse

Some Representative Nashville Firms, 50 Years or More in Existence, as Compiled by Chamber of Commerce in 1953

Weinstein's, 1890
Edward Rehorn & Sons, 1900
Davitt's, 1897
Stoddards, Inc., 1907
Dury's, 1882
Yarbrough Supply Co., Inc., 1906
Baird Electric Co., 1897
H. Brown & Co., 1902
John Weis, Inc., 1892
Joy Floral, 1877
Life and Casualty, 1903
Cline and Bernheim, 1862
Lefkovitz-Fleisman, 1881
Jamison Bedding, 1883
Jakes Foundry, 1891
AME Sunday School Union, 1882
Phillips & Buttorff, 1858
B. H. Stief Jewelry, 1858
Gray & Dudley, 1862
Marshall & Bruce, 1865
O'Bryan Brothers, 1865
Allen Manufacturing Co., 1867
W. G. Bush Co., 1867
Citizens Saving Bank & Trust, 1903
Alloway Brothers, 1887
Ambrose Printing, 1865
American Bread, 1889
American Steam Feed, 1881
American Tri-State Paper Box, 1880
Bradford Furniture Co., 1889
Bradley Candy Co., 1896
T. L. Herbert, 1867
Cooper & Winters, 1868
Cumberland Manufacturing, 1898
Foster & Parkes, 1887
Gray Printing, 1875
Gray's Ointment, 1820
Hatch Show Print Co., 1879
Hay Market Mills, 1893
H. G. Hill, 1895
Hemphill Press, 1886
Jacobs Packing, 1870

May Hosiery, 1863
Methodist Publishing House, 1856
Louisville & Nashville RR, 1850
Mitchell's, 1848
Nashville Machinery & Supply, 1887
Nashville Banner, 1876
Nashville Tennessean, traced back to 1812
Nashville Tent & Awning, 1884
National Baptist SS Board, 1896
H. E. Parmer, 1865
Riverside Mills, 1889
Rock City Ice Cream Co., 1897
Southern Agriculturalist (Farm & Ranch), 1869
Theo Tafel, 1889
Union Ice Cream, 1892
National Casket, 1885
Cain-Sloan, 1903
St. Bernard Coal Company, traces back prior to 1900
Dixie Electrotype, 1902
Fall's Business College, 1882
First American National Bank, 1883
Guaranty Title, traces back to early 1870's
Harveys (as Lebecks), 1874
Keith-Simmons, 1898
Loveman, Berger, & Teitlebaum, 1862
R. M. Mills, 1892
Nashville Bridge, 1902
Nashville Gas Co., 1851
Davis, Bradford & Corson, 1867
A. M. Loveman Lumber & Box, 1865
Buford Bros., 1837
Nashville Trust Co., 1889
National Life & Accident Insurance, 1902
Neuhoff Packing, 1898
Neely Harwell, 1896
Norwell & Wallace, 1880
Robert Orr & Co., 1866
Rigo Manufacturing, 1903
Siegrist Bakery, 1900
Southern Lumberman, 1881
Southern Excelsior, 1900
Southern Publishing Association, 1901
Standard Candy, 1902
Sunday School Board, Southern Baptist Convention, 1891
Zibart Brothers, 1898
Warren Brothers, 1877
Tinsleys, 1902
Beasley & Sons, 1857
Southern Bell, 1879
Geny's, 1882
Loventhal Brothers, 1889
Castner-Knott, 1899

Congressional Representation, Nashville and Davidson County, March 4, 1789 to Present

First Congress (1789–91)
North Carolina
Senators: Benjamin Hawkins; Samuel Johnston
Representatives: John Baptista Ashe; John Steele; Timothy Bloodworth; John Sevier; Hugh Williamson

Second Congress (1791–93)
Sen.: Same
Rep.: Ashe, Steele, Williamson, W. B. Grove, Nathaniel Macon

Third Congress (1793–95)
Territory South of the Ohio River
Delegate: James White

Fourth Congress (1795–97)
Sen.: William Blount; William Cocke
Rep.: Andrew Jackson

Fifth Congress (1797–99)	Sen.:	William Blount; William Cocke; Daniel Smith; Joseph Anderson; Andrew Jackson
	Rep.:	William C. C. Claiborne
Sixth Congress (1799–1801)	Sen.:	Joseph Anderson; William Cocke
	Rep.:	William C. C. Claiborne
Seventh Congress (1801–03)	Sen.:	Joseph Anderson; William Cocke
	Rep.:	William Dickson
Eighth Congress (1803–05)	Sen.:	Joseph Anderson; William Cocke
	Rep.:	George Washington Campbell, Nashville
Ninth Congress (1805–07)	Sen.:	Joseph Anderson; Daniel Smith
	Rep.:	G. W. Campbell; Jesse Wharton
Tenth Congress (1807–09)	Sen.:	Joseph Anderson; Daniel Smith
	Rep.:	G. W. Campbell
Eleventh Congress (1809–11)	Sen.:	Joseph Anderson; Daniel Smith; Jenkins Whiteside
	Rep.:	Robert Weakley
Twelfth Congress (1811–13)	Sen.:	Joseph Anderson; Jenkins Whiteside; G. W. Campbell
	Rep.:	Felix Grundy
Thirteenth Congress (1813–15)	Sen.:	Joseph Anderson; G. W. Campbell; Jesse Wharton
	Rep.:	Felix Grundy
Fourteenth Congress (1815–17)	Sen.:	Jesse Wharton; John Williams; G. W. Campbell
	Rep.:	Newton Cannon, Harpeth; Bennett H. Henderson, Hendersonville; James B. Reynolds, Clarksville. None listed from Nashville.
Fifteenth Congress (1817–19)	Sen.:	G. W. Campbell; John H. Eaton; John Williams
	Rep.:	Thomas Claiborne
Sixteenth Congress (1819–21)	Sen.:	John Williams; John H. Eaton
	Rep.:	None from Nashville.
Seventeenth Congress (1821–23)	Sen.:	John Williams; John H. Eaton
	Rep.:	None from Nashville
Eighteenth Congress (1823–25)	Sen.:	John H. Eaton; Andrew Jackson
	Rep.:	Samuel Houston

Nineteenth Congress (1825–27)	Sen.: John H. Eaton; Andrew Jackson; Hugh Lawson White
	Rep.: Samuel Houston
Twentieth Congress (1827–29)	Sen.: John H. Eaton; H. L. White
	Rep.: John Bell
Twenty-First Congress (1829–31)	Sen.: John H. Eaton; Felix Grundy; H. L. White
	Rep.: John Bell
Twenty-Second Congress (1831–33)	Sen.: H. L. White; Felix Grundy
	Rep.: John Bell
Twenty-Third Congress (1833–35)	Sen.: H. L. White; Felix Grundy
	Rep.: John Bell
Twenty-Fourth Congress (1835–37)	Sen.: H. L. White; Felix Grundy
	Rep.: John Bell
Twenty-Fifth Congress (1837–39)	Sen.: H. L. White; Felix Grundy; Ephraim H. Foster
	Rep.: John Bell
Twenty-Sixth Congress (1839–41)	Sen.: H. L. White; Alexander Anderson; Felix Grundy; Alfred O. P. Nicholson
	Rep.: John Bell
Twenty-Seventh Congress (1841–43)	Sen.: A. O. P. Nicholson; Vacant
	Rep.: None from Nashville
Twenty-Eighth Congress (1843–45)	Sen.: E. H. Foster, Spencer Jarnagin; Rep.: None from Nashville
Twenty-Ninth Congress (1845–47)	Sen.: S. Jarnagin; Hopkins L. Turney
	Rep.: Edwin H. Ewing
Thirtieth Congress (1847–49)	Sen.: Hopkins L. Turney; John Bell
	Rep.: Washington Barrow
Thirty-First Congress (1849–51)	Sen.: Hopkins L. Turney; John Bell
	Rep.: Andrew Ewing
Thirty-Second Congress (1851–53)	Sen.: John Bell; James C. Jones
	Rep.: None from Nashville
Thirty-Third Congress (1853–55)	Sen.: John Bell; James C. Jones
	Rep.: Felix K. Zollicoffer
Thirty-Fourth Congress (1855–57)	Sen.: John Bell; James C. Jones
	Rep.: Felix K. Zollicoffer
Thirty-Fifth Congress (1857–59)	Sen.: John Bell; Andrew Johnson
	Rep.: Felix K. Zollicoffer
Thirty-Sixth Congress (1859–61)	Sen.: Andrew Johnson; A. O. P. Nicholson
	Rep.: None from Nashville
Thirty-Seventh Congress (1861–63)	Area not represented
Thirty-Eighth Congress (1863–65)	All seats vacant

Thirty-Ninth Congress (1865–67)	Sen.:	Joseph S. Fowler; David T. Patterson
	Rep.:	None from Nashville
Fortieth Congress (1867–69)	Sen.:	Joseph S. Fowler; David T. Patterson
	Rep.:	John Trimble
Forty-First Congress (1869–71)	Sen.:	J. S. Fowler; William G. Brownlow
	Rep.:	William F. Prosser
Forty-Second Congress (1871–73)	Sen.:	W. G. Brownlow; Henry Cooper
	Rep.:	None from Nashville
Forty-Third Congress (1873–75)	Sen.:	W. G. Brownlow; H. Cooper
	Rep.:	Horace H. Harrison
Forty-Fourth Congress (1875–77)	Sen.:	Henry Cooper; Andrew Johnson; David M. Key; James E. Bailey
	Rep.:	None from Nashville
Forty-Fifth Congress (1877–79)	Sen.:	James E. Bailey; Isham G. Harris
	Rep.:	None from Nashville
Forty-Sixth Congress (1879–81)	Sen.:	James E. Bailey; I. G. Harris
	Rep.:	None from Nashville
Forty-Seventh Congress (1881–83)	Sen.:	I. G. Harris; Howell E. Jackson
	Rep.:	None from Nashville
Forty-Eighth Congress (1883–85)	Sen.:	I. G. Harris; Howell E. Jackson
	Rep.:	Andrew J. Caldwell
Forty-Ninth Congress (1885–87)	Sen.:	I. G. Harris; H. E. Jackson; Washington C. Whitthorne
	Rep.:	A. J. Caldwell
Fiftieth Congress (1887–89)	Sen.:	I. G. Harris; William B. Bate
	Rep.:	None from Nashville
Fifty-First Congress (1889–91)	Sen.:	I. G. Harris; W. B. Bate
	Rep.:	None from Nashville
Fifty-Second Congress (1891–93)	Sen.:	I. G. Harris; W. B. Bate
	Rep.:	None from Nashville
Fifty-Third Congress (1893–95)	Sen.:	I. G. Harris; W. B. Bate
	Rep.:	None from Nashville
Fifty-Fourth Congress (1895–97)	Sen.:	I. G. Harris; W. B. Bate
	Rep.:	None from Nashville
Fifty-Fifth Congress (1897–99)	Sen.:	I. G. Harris; Thomas B. Turley; W. B. Bate
	Rep.:	John W. Gaines
Fifty-Sixth Congress (1899–1901)	Sen.:	W. B. Bate; T. B. Turley
	Rep.:	J. W. Gaines
Fifty-Seventh Congress (1901–03)	Sen.:	W. B. Bate; Edward W. Carmack
	Rep.:	J. W. Gaines

Fifty-Eighth Congress (1903–05)	Sen.: W. B. Bate; E. W. Carmack
	Rep.: J. W. Gaines
Fifty-Ninth Congress (1905–07)	Sen.: W. B. Bate; James B. Frazier; E. W. Carmack
	Rep.: J. W. Gaines
Sixtieth Congress (1907–09)	Sen.: J. B. Frazier; Robert L. Taylor
	Rep.: J. W. Gaines
Sixty-First Congress (1909–11)	Sen.: J. B. Frazier; R. L. Taylor
	Rep.: Joseph W. Byrns
Sixty-Second Congress (1911–13)	Sen.: R. L. Taylor; Newell Sanders; William R. Webb; Luke Lea
	Rep.: J. W. Byrns
Sixty-Third Congress (1913–15)	Sen.: Luke Lea; John K. Shields
	Rep.: J. W. Byrns
Sixty-Fourth Congress (1915–17)	Sen.: Luke Lea; J. K. Shields
	Rep.: J. W. Byrns
Sixty-Fifth Congress (1917–19) through Sixty-Eighth Congress (1923–25)	Sen.: J. K. Shields; Kenneth McKellar
	Rep.: J. W. Byrns
Sixty-Ninth Congress (1925–27) —Seventieth Congress (1927–1929)	Sen.: K. D. McKellar; Lawrence D. Tyson
	Rep.: J. W. Byrns
Seventy-First Congress (1929–31)	Sen.: K. D. McKellar; L. D. Tyson; William E. Brock
	Rep.: J. W. Byrns
Seventy-Second Congress (1931–33)	Sen.: K. D. McKellar; Cordell Hull
	Rep.: J. W. Byrns
Seventy-Third Congress (1933–35) —Seventy-Fourth Congress (1935–37)	Sen.: K. D. McKellar; Nathan L. Bachman
	Rep.: J. W. Byrns
Seventy-Fifth Congress (1937–39)	Sen.: K. D. McKellar; N. L. Bachman; George L. Berry; A. Tom Stewart
	Rep.: Richard M. Atkinson
Seventy-Sixth Congress (1939–41)	Sen.: K. D. McKellar; A. T. Stewart
	Rep.: J. W. Byrns, Jr.
Seventy-Seventh Congress (1941–43) —Eightieth Congress (1947–49)	Sen.: K. D. McKellar; A. T. Stewart
	Rep.: J. Percy Priest
Eighty-First Congress (1949–51) —Eighty-Second Congress (1951–53)	Sen.: K. D. McKellar; Estes Kefauver
	Rep.: J. Percy Priest
Eighty-Third Congress (1953–55)—Eighty-Fourth Congress (1955–57)	Sen.: Estes Kefauver; Albert Gore
	Rep.: J. Percy Priest
Eighty-Fifth Congress (1957–59)—Eighty-Sixth Congress (1959–61)	Sen.: Estes Kefauver; Albert Gore
	Rep.: J. Carlton Loser

Nashville: A General Chronology

1710 French trading post established
1772 Watauga Association formed
1779, early spring Robertson and associates plant crop of corn where city of Nashville now stands
1779–80 Large party of settlers arrive from East Tennessee
1780 Col. John Donelson's flotilla arrives
1781, Jan. 11 Birth of Felix Robertson, often listed as first male child born in Nashville, sixth child of James and Charlotte Robertson
1783 Isaac Bledsoe, Francis Prince, Isaac Lindsey organized Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter sessions at Nashborough, Andrew Ewin or Ewing elected Clerk of the Court
1784, April, May Town formally established at Bluff overlooking Cumberland by Act of the North Carolina legislature, and entitled Nashborough; from July 1, 1784, known as Nashville. Thomas Mulloy makes first survey of lots. Cumberland Settlements become known as Mero District, after Don Estepan Miro, Governor and Intendant of Spanish provinces of Louisiana and West Florida. State of Franklin, 1784–88
1785, Dec. 29 Establishment of Davidson Academy; John Sappington, first physician, appears
1786 Lardner Clark begins first dry goods store
1787 Half a dozen frame and log houses and twenty or thirty log cabins

1790 Andrew Jackson appointed U. S. District Attorney by President George Washington, marries Mrs. Rachel Donelson Robards in 1791. John Donelson appointed major general, U. S. Army, by George Washington

1791, 92, 93 Continuous acts of murder, arson, maiming of stock, stealing of horses by Indians, 50 whites killed in 1793; resentment of national government's policies continues after constitution was voted on in 1788 in settlements and rejected almost unanimously. 1792, Knoxville started, named for Henry Knox, Secretary of War under Washington

1796 The Methodist Church on the Public Square was the first formally organized church in Nashville; it was torn down 1807 or 1808

1796 or 1797 Thomas Bailey, Englishman, reaches Nashville on western tour, finds people willing to care for themselves without dole from government

1797 *Tennessee Gazette and Mero District Advertiser*

1804 Well sunk on Public Square; public lottery to defray expenses of extending boundary of city to northeast; Jackson at Hunter's Hill, predecessor of the Hermitage

1805 Aaron Burr visits Nashville and General Jackson

1806 Incorporation

1807 First Nashville meeting of legislature, subsequently meeting Murfreesboro, Kingston, Knoxville until final location in Nashville. The Nashville Bank incorporated, capital $200,000

1811 Severe earthquake, perhaps connected with the great Mississippi Valley convulsion that created Reelfoot Lake

1812 Thomas G. Bradford printed book *The Military Instructor* in Nashville, containing Baron Steuben's tactics, reputedly first Nashville book imprint. 1813, formal end of Mero District

1814, Sept. 1 Death of Gen. James Robertson in West Tennessee; in 1825 reinterred in solemn ceremony in City Cemetery with stirring oration by Judge Haywood; June 11, 1843, death of wife, Charlotte Reeves Robertson, also interred same place

1816 Incorporation of Nashville Female Academy, finest in South, and graduating thousands of the best ladies of the South from 1816 to 1861

1819–20 Financial panic; 1819 brick Hermitage; 1819, Memphis; 1819, West Nashville purchased from Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians

1820, May Store of Thomas Deaderick robbed of several thousand dollars worth of goods, first major robbery in Nashville's history

1822 Bridge from NE corner Public Square to Gallatin turnpike

1823 Fifteen or twenty steamboats running to New Orleans

1826 City divided into six wards

1828, Dec. 22 Death of Mrs. Andrew Jackson

1829, Jan. 17 General Jackson leaves Hermitage for Washington inauguration as President of the United States of America

1829–30 Felix Robertson, M.D., introduced use of quinine in Nashville

1830, April 13 President Jackson's toast at Jefferson Day Banquet: "Our Federal Union, it must be preserved."

1831–32 Christ Church, corner Church and High; old McKendree Methodist Church, 1832–33; new church, same site, 1877; 1813, Cumberland Presbyterian Church; 1820, Baptist Association, and in 1837, Dr. R. B. C. Howell helped dedicate Baptist Church on Summer Street; 1830–31, Catholic Church just north of present Capitol

1833, Oct. 1 First service million dollar waterworks

1833, May 1 Death of noted philanthropist Duncan Robertson, who came to city in 1806; Robertson Association formed in his honor to continue good works and benevolences

1834 Nashville artist, William B. Cooper, paints portrait of Hon. John McLean, Justice Supreme Court of United States; Hermitage damaged by fire, repaired, no changes in design since

1837 Sisters of Charity establish hospital in Nashville; Attorney John Catron appointed U. S. Supreme Court

1837 Financial depression causes large migration to Texas

1840, May $1,500 contribution by citizens of Nashville to victims of Natchez tornado

1840, June 1 Independent Order of Odd Fellows 1st public parade

1840, Aug. 17 Whig Convention, Henry Clay, John J. Crittenden in city

1840, Dec. 19 Death of Hon. Felix Grundy, who successfully defended 164 clients in 165 capital cases

1840–41, winter Remarkable series popular lectures Masonic Hall by Dr. Philip Lindsley, Dr. R. B. C. Howell, Professors Gerard Troost, Nathaniel Cross, J. Hamilton, Dr. Thomas R. Jennings, Dr. John T. Edgar, Hon. Abram P. Maury, and others

1841 Funeral of ex-governor Newton Cannon, McKendree Church

1841, Nov. 13 Successful balloon ascent by one Clayton; artist named Moore makes first daguerreotype likeness, Market St. opposite Union

1842 Davidson County Criminal Court, William K. Turner, Judge

1843, Jan. 4, 16 Shocks of earthquake

1843, May Steamer *Nashville* to New Orleans in 6 days, 13 hours, followed by *Talleyrand's* 5 days and 23 hours in June, which *Nashville* then reduced to 5 days and 19 hours. In 1820, 30 days considered fast time

1843, Oct. 7 City of Nashville made Tennessee's capital

1845 Louis Phillippe, who had visited Nashville, sent artist Healy to paint portrait of General Jackson

1845, June 10 Death of General Jackson; burial by side of Mrs. Jackson at Hermitage; 1846, School for the Blind

1849, June 15 Death of President James K. Polk, in Nashville

1849, May Tennessee Historical Society re-organized; Professor N. Cross, president; Col. A. W. Putnam, vice-president

1849, Nov. 14 Chartering of Nashville Gas Company, with city lighted by gas night of February 13, 1851

1850 Suspension bridge, M. D. Field, brother of Cyrus W. Field, of Atlantic Cable Fame, contractor

1851 1st Jewish Benevolent Society; 1854, Alexander Iser, First Rabbi

1853, Feb. 1 Numbering of houses completed

1857, Oct. 9 Siamese Twins on exhibition

1859 First sermon Central Baptist Church, dedication Mulberry Street Methodist Church, construction begun of Church of Advent; death of Aaron Brown, Melrose, postmaster under Buchanan, shortened transcontinental mail routes

1860, Dec. 30 Large meeting of citizens at Courthouse to weigh significance of election of Abraham Lincoln by strictly

sectional, minority vote and also the significance of South Carolina's secession

1861–65 Involved deeply in War Between the States; no other state, except Virginia, saw more battles on its soil than Tennessee; after March 12, 1862, Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee, conducted government from Nashville, which was under occupation of the Union army

1866, Jan. 1 The system of letter carrying introduced; March, streetcars; June, Board of Health organized

1867, March 8 Funeral Col. J. D. B. DeBow, founder and editor, *DeBow's Review;* May, terrible mutiny of convicts, Tennessee State Penitentiary, Church Street

1871 Nashville Industrial Exhibition; German citizens commemorate peace between France and Germany; cotton factory appears; first artificial ice made in Nashville

1873, March 27 Commodore Vanderbilt endows what became Vanderbilt University; 23,000 hogs packed in Nashville. Aug. 11, 1874, temperature 104 degrees

1875, Jan. 30 First Alarm Telegraph with 20 miles of wire; formation of YMCA

1877, Sept. 1 First use of telephone

1880 Samuel Watkins endows unique tuition-free educational institution; 1885 east side Public Square opened for freer access to Woodland Street Bridge; 1887, visit of historian George Bancroft to see Polk Papers; visit President and Mrs. Grover Cleveland

1889 Electric streetcars; City Hospital

1890 American Medical Association meets in city; new City Hospital; New Reservoir

1891, Aug. 14 Death of Mrs. James K. Polk

1893, April 24 Killing frost, reported as latest in many years; earliest killing frost many years, Oct. 9, 1889. March 16–17, 1892, 17 inches of snow in 24 hours. 1893, Judge Howell E. Jackson appointed U. S. Supreme Court

1894 United Daughters of the Confederacy organized, Maxwell House; smallpox epidemic, compulsory vaccination of 35,000 reported; 1895–96, milk, meat regulations

1897 Tennessee Centennial; American Federation of Labor met in Nashville, Samuel Gompers presiding

1898, April 22 Gunboat or Old Cruiser *Nashville* fired opening salvo Spanish-American War; Henry Neuhoff begins packing "cooked hams"

1899, Feb. 13 Temperature dropped to 13 degrees below zero
1900, May Visit of Admiral and Mrs. George Dewey; 1903, Little Sisters of the Poor
1904 Opening of Carnegie Library; Union Stockyards organized by W. J. Cummins, John Hetterman, John Cudahy, *et al.*; Dec. 23, Streets numbered, through 30th Ave.
1908 Edward Ward Carmack killed
1909 Judge H. H. Lurton appointed U. S. Supreme Court
1910 World's first night aircraft flight, at State Fair grounds, plane equipped with automobile headlights, for military demonstration of advantages of night flying; Tuberculosis Hospital
1911 Hume-Fogg High School Cornerstone laid
1914 J. S. McReynolds, former Nashville attorney, justice U. S. Supreme Court; Catholic Cathedral of the Incarnation, West End, dedicated; Mar. 22, 1916, East Nashville Fire
1917–18 Many Nashvillians and Davidson Countians among the 91,180 Tennesseans serving in the armed forces during the war
1922 Gypsy Smith revival at Ryman Auditorium; opening of Vanderbilt Stadium; five buildings at Peabody College as result of million dollar gift
1924 General Shoe Corporation organized by three Nashville men, later growing into one of world's largest companies of its kind; Scarritt College moved to Nashville from Kansas City
1931 Dr. Ernest Goodpasture, Vanderbilt Medical School, utilizing eggs, develops quick way to prepare vaccines, later technique saving countless lives in World War II and Korean Conflict
1933 East Nashville tornado
1936 Berry Field dedicated; American Airlines; Radio Station WSIX moves to Nashville from Springfield
1937 Over 2,000 members from city's 27 Methodist churches commemorate 150 years of Methodism in Nashville; new Court House dedicated
1941–45 Many Nashvillians among the 315,501 Tennesseans serving in the various theaters of operations in World War II
1941 Busses replace streetcars
1944 Nashville Children's Museum Association organized; Children's Museum opened October 30, 1945

1947, Sept. 15 Centennial anniversary of dedication of St. Mary's Church

1949, May Visit of President Eurico Gaspar Dutra of Brazil; Nashville first in South in sheep packing, 2nd in hogs, 3rd in cattle

1950–53 In Korean Conflict, in addition to increased enlistments in regular armed forces, Tennessee units of its Air National Guard, Army National Guard, Army Reserve Corps, and Marine Corps furnished 10,500 officers and men

1951, Feb. 2 Coldest day in recent years, 13 degrees below zero

1952, July 28 Warmest day in recent years, 107 degrees; this year new Federal Building and Nashville Electric Service Building dedicated

1956 Women's track team A. and I. State University compete in Olympics; formation Nashville Art Council which gives well-attended yearly Arts Festival, Centennial Park; Delbert Mann directs film *Marty,* which brings this Nashville native coveted Oscar

1957 First full reunion of "Fugitives," Vanderbilt; Tom Little, *Tennessean* cartoonist, receives Pulitzer prize; Vanderbilt receives $3 million gift from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for new Divinity School; City Beautiful Commission announced Nashville winner of Ernest T. Trigg Trophy as cleanest city in 100,000–500,000 population category, as in 1956; Mayor Ben West elected president American Municipal Association, which includes 12,000 mayors; completion of Life and Casualty Building; Cain-Sloan's new store; discussion in national press of "Nashville's Renaissance"

1958 Renaissance continues; residential use of electricity three times the national average; new Municipal Safety Building; Urban Renewal Project Nashville Housing Authority covers three and one half square miles, second largest project of its kind in the U. S.; plans for a new auditorium drawn; $11 million sewage disposal plant; *Farm and Ranch* Magazine, locally published and edited, reaches 1,300,000 circulation; James Robertson Parkway; Capitol Hill Redevelopment Project continues

1959 Renaissance again; plans for Wharf Avenue Bridge announced; work on expressway around Central City underway; in six months nearly two million people visit new

Old Hickory Lake; announcement of new $20 million Dacron plant at Old Hickory, beginning of new $16 million Veteran Administration Hospital; likewise start of $10 million enlargement of Municipal Airport; half a million tourists, many mentioning WSM's "Grand Ole Opry" as chief attraction; Dinah Shore wins Emmy, as in 1956–57–58; more than $43 million spent on new construction in downtown Nashville since 1956

1960 Cheekwood, former home, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Sharp, will be open to public as unique gardens and fine arts center, adding to fame of the "Athens of the South"

Notes and References

Foreword

1. Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities,* p. 4.
2. In the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 15 (1943), pp. 13–19.
3. See his *The Rise of the City, 1878–1898,* which is Vol. X of the co-operative *A History of American Life,* edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox.
4. In Jo. Conn Guild, *Old Times in Tennessee,* pp. 27–28, *passim.*
5. In *Mayor's Message* to the City Council, Sept. 30, 1859, p. 4.

Chapter One

1. See his *The Winning of the West.* See also quotations from early travelers in first chapter, Hollis Philip Bacon, II, The Historical Geography of Ante-Bellum Nashville (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1955), and also Samuel Cole Williams, editor, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540–1800.*
2. For the section, "Names on the Land," see *Firsts in Nashville,* pp. 1–3. Davidson County since Feb. 28, 1856, has consisted of the land surrounding Nashville but previously included area now assigned to Sumner, Robertson, Montgomery, Williamson, Stewart, Houston, Wilson, Humphreys, Dickson, Hickman, Perry, Wayne, and parts of Hardin, Rutherford, Cheatham, and Lewis counties.
3. References for "Some Natural Features" include *First in Nashville,* Charles W. Wilson, Jr., *The Geology of Nashville,*

Tennessee, R. S. Bassler, *The Stratigraphy of the Central Basin of Tennessee,* Bacon, *op. cit.,* Jesse C. Burt, "Reelfoot Lake—Child of Violence," in *Natural History,* February, 1955, Laura Kate Miller, Geographic Influences in the Growth of Nashville (Unpublished M.A. thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1923), J. B. Killebrew and J. M. Safford, *Introduction to the Resources of Tennessee,* J. R. Whitaker, "Tennessee—Earth Factors in Settlement and Land Use," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* V (1946), pp. 195–212, H. Philip Bacon, "Some Problems of Adjustment to Nashville's Site and Situation, 1780–1860," *Ibid.,* XV (1956), pp. 322–30, and personal interview with William D. Hardeman, Tennessee State Geologist. According to current geological thought, topographically the river and the Nashville area are not believed to have changed appreciably since the First Interglacial Age, which closed a theoretical 630,000 years ago.

4. Type of water of the Great French Lick Spring is indicated in article by Reda C. Goff, design engineer for the City Waterworks Department, in Nashville *Banner,* June 8, 1959. A local laboratory ran an analysis on the water in 1877. A gallon was found to contain about 260 grains of common table salt. Mr. Goff also states that the first baseball game in Sulphur Dell was played in 1866. See the Nashville Public Schools publication *Spotlighting Nashville,* p. 24.

5. Gates P. Thruston, *The Antiquities of Tennessee;* Thomas M. N. Lewis and Madeline Kneburg, *Tribes that Slumber, Indian Times in the Tennessee Region.*

6. See the scholarly introduction to the prize winning 1958 edition of *Tennessee Historical Markers* (Tennessee Historical Commission).

7. Henry McRaven, *Nashville, "Athens of the South,"* p. 6.

8. *Spotlighting Nashville,* p. 29.

Chapter Two

1. For a likeness of Judge Haywood and a statement of his claim to fame see the front of any recent issue of the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Published by the Tennessee Historical Society and the Tennessee Historical Commission) edited by Dr. William T. Alderson.

2. The generalizations in this chapter derive from W. W. Clayton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee,* James Phelan, *History of Tennessee,* J. G. M. Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee,*

John Carr, *Early Times in Middle Tennessee,* Lizzie P. Elliott, *Early History of Nashville,* Ann E. Synder, *On the Watauga and the Cumberland,* Thomas Edwin Matthews, *General James Robertson, Father of Tennessee,* and the writings of Judge Haywood, Archibald Henderson, A. W. Putnam, Judge Guild, Judge Williams, Frederick Jackson Turner, and others.

3. These names are from Judge Haywood's *The Civil and Political History of Tennessee.*

4. *Ibid.* For location of "stations" see Introduction to 1956 imprint of Office of Secretary of State of Tennessee, *The Constitution of the State of Tennessee.*

5. Matthews, *passim.* See also *Dictionary of American Biography.*

6. This section draws heavily on Judge Haywood, including names and their spelling.

7. This section uses material found in Bacon, *op. cit.,* Judge Haywood, and Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee,* and this entire chapter is a revision of Abernethy's thesis.

8. Davidson County Wills 3 and 4, Davidson County Courthouse, pp. 220–21.

Chapter Three

1. Found in various places, including Matthews.

2. Examination of photostatic copy of original.

3. There have been many writings on The Battle of the Bluffs. Acknowledgement is made here to Dr. William T. Alderson for use of John Cotten's Diary, and to Mr. Robert T. Quarles, Jr.

4. *Tennessee Conservationist,* June, 1959.

Chapter Four

1. John D. Hicks, *The American Nation.*

2. *Op. cit.*

3. The best short sketch of Andrew Jackson known to the present writer is in *Tennessee Blue Book, 1957–1958,* pp. 245–46.

4. Locations from Larry Connelly, *Historic Sites, A Treasury of Places to Explore in Middle Tennessee.*

5. Details from McRaven, *Nashville, "Athens of the South."*

6. See Robert H. White, *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, 1796–1821,* Vol. 1, Lee S. Greene and Robert S. Avery, *The Government and Administration of Tennessee,* James Parton, *A*

Life of Andrew Jackson, Marquis James, *Andrew Jackson, The Border Captain.*

Chapter Five

This chapter derives from examination of biographies of Jackson, especially Parton, and James, and John Spencer Bassett, editor, *The Correspondence of Andrew Jackson.* There is an excellent diagram of the path taken by Jackson in Parton's biography. Material on Dr. McNairy's home is from McRaven. Material on T. H. Benton's later career is from *Webster's Biographical Dictionary,* William Carroll from White's *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee,* Vol. 2, and Marquis James is authority for statement about Jesse Benton. The best short account of the Bell Witch is in *Tennessee Conservationist,* June, 1959.

Chapter Six

1. According to press accounts at the time of the greatest popularity of the song, it was a revision of the old square dance tune known as *The Eighth of January,* which, reportedly, was a revision of an earlier song about the Battle of New Orleans.

2. Sources for this chapter include James, *Andrew Jackson, The Border Captain,* Chaps. XIV–XV, Reau E. Folk, *The Battle of New Orleans, Its Real Meaning,* S. G. Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History,* Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People,* John D. Hicks, *The American Nation,* Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic,* Vol. I, and Jesse C. Burt, College Textbook Treatments of American History (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Peabody College, 1942). A source of unusual value during the writing of this chapter was the collection of portraits of President Jackson and items pertaining to his career in the Auditorium on the second floor of the Tennessee State Library and Archives, where the chapter was written.

3. Dr. Robert H. White has established the fact that Tennessee became known as "The Volunteer State" in the War of 1812, rather than in the War with Mexico, at which time the sobriquet received added impetus.

4. The rank of Lieutenant General previously had been reserved for George Washington, until revived for Ulysses S. Grant in the 1861–1865 war.

5. Morison and Commager, *op. cit.,* say on p. 426 that "The

Battle of New Orleans had no military value since peace had been signed on Christmas eve," but the same widely-used text gives much praise to the sea exploits that followed New Orleans, see p. 419. This should be contrasted with the account given in *The Hermitage, Home of Andrew Jackson,* published by the Ladies Hermitage Association and giving an accurate statement of the immense value of the battle.

Chapter Seven

1. I am particularly appreciative of Mrs. Harriet Chappell Owsley's help herein. The sources for this chapter include Registers, Number 1, The Jacob McGavock Papers, Manuscript Section, Archives Division, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, 1959, an exceptionally well-prepared statement, clarifying the circumstances leading to the deposit of these papers, and indicating the family relationships mentioned. Another basic source was Frances Clifton, The Life and Activities of John Overton (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1948). The letter from President Jackson to Judge Overton discussed here is in the Jacob McGavock Dickinson Papers, Box 15, No. 9. Other sources include Schlesinger, *The Age of Jackson, Webster's Biographical Dictionary, World Almanac,* official leaflet for Traveler's Rest, and the official booklet, *The Hermitage,* published by the L. H. A.

Chapter Eight

1. Sources used include R. Beeler Satterfield, The Early Public Career of Andrew Jackson Donelson (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1948), *Spotlighting Nashville* (for Lindsley), McRaven, *op. cit.,* Bacon, *op. cit.,* the Judge Thomas Matthews Collection, Manuscript Section, Archives Division, Tennessee State Library and Archives (for Robertson's letter), Joseph Parks, *Felix Grundy, Firsts in Nashville,* James Herring and James B. Longacre, *The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans* (for Grundy), III, Robert Selph Henry, *The Story of the Mexican War,* John S. Jenkins, *The Life of James K. Polk,* E. I. McCormick, *James K. Polk,* Charles Grier Sellers, *James K. Polk, Jacksonian, 1795–1843,* Martha McBride Morrell, *"Young Hickory," The Life and Times of President James K. Polk,* and *History of Homes and Gardens of Tennessee,* compiled by Garden Study Club of Nashville, Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, collaborating, edited by Roberta Seawell Brandau.

2. James Robertson to John Sevier, August 15, 1784, Box 3, Matthews Collection, Manuscript Section, Archives Division, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

Chapter Nine

1. Two articles by Alfred Leland Crabb, "Wilkins Tannehill, Business and Cultural Leader," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* VII (1948), pp. 314–22, and "The Twilight of the Nashville Gods," *ibid.,* XV (1956), pp. 291–306 were useful in this chapter, as were the writings of Tannehill and McGavock. Also useful were Paul Fitzsimmons Eve, *A Collection of Remarkable Cases of Surgery* (1857), William Strickland, *Sketches of Roman Architecture* (1838?), and the same author's *Reports of Canals, Railways, Roads, and Other Subjects Made to the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Internal Improvements,* and Agnes Eleanor Gilchrist, *William Strickland, Architect and Engineer, 1788–1854.* An excellent survey of its subject is F. Garvin Davenport, *Cultural Life in Nashville on the Eve of the Civil War;* also useful is Louis S. Hunter, *Steamboats on the Western Rivers,* which has many details *in re* Nashville's steamers.

2. Bacon, *op. cit.*

3. James Joseph Flanagan, The Irish Element in Nashville, 1810–1890 (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1951), Herbert T. Gordon, The Jewish Community in Nashville (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1949), and Phyllis Elizabeth Hahn, German Settlers in Nashville, Tennessee (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1935), *Population of the United States in 1860,* The Eighth Census, 1864, p. 456, 459, 463, 467.

4. See J. Woolridge, ed., *History of Nashville, Tennessee,* for detailed facts on history of Nashville banking.

5. Charles E. Röbert, *Nashville and Her Trade for 1870.*

6. The section on "The State Capitol" derives from Gilchrist, Crabb, and White, *op. cit.* Belle Meade data are from the official leaflet.

7. The widely influential Nashville *Journal of Medicine's* first series began in 1851, continued until November, 1861. Editors at various times included W. K. Bowling, P. F. Eve, Joseph Jones, and G. S. Blackie.

8. The date for Cockrill is from *Tennessee Blue Book,* p. 79.

9. Tannehill's children and their marriages is from Crabb, *op. cit.*

10. The quotation about V. K. Stevenson is from J. B. White, Recollections of V. K. Stevenson, unpublished; other useful sources include W. S. Hackworth, *Over a Century of Railroad Service* (The NC&StL story by a distinguished former president, now president of the Nashville Bank and Trust Company), *Nashville City and Business Directory for 1860–61*, p. 55, for disposition of the N&C stock, and Annual Reports of N&C, first five years, for data on stockholders.

Chapter Ten

This chapter is a synthesis of a wide variety of items pertaining to Nashville during the Civil War. Although under Army control, the Nashville *Dispatch* published many items that provided a running commentary on the oppression and unconstitutionality of the occupation. The text for the two Ryan poems are from the 1880 edition of his collected verses, 12th edition.

Chapter Eleven

1. Parson Brownlow's language is quoted to telling effect in E. Merton Coulter's *William G. Brownlow, Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands* and an equally vivid selection is *Parson Brownlow's Book.* Other sources include Dr. Robert H. White's discussion of Governor Isham G. Harris in *Tennessee Blue Book,* Röbert's *Nashville and Her Trade for 1870,* and the anecdote concerning Andrew Johnson at the coffin of John Bell, the anecdote about the band concert for General Thomas, and the gold medal are from Marshall S. Snow, "A Yankee School Master's Recollections," Tennessee Historical *Magazine,* VI (1920), pp. 279–83. Material concerning John M. Bass may be found in various places; here I have mainly used data supplied by a descendant of this distinguished citizen.

2. In *War Songs and Poems of the Confederacy.*

Chapter Twelve

1. Basic source for these two paragraphs is Charles E. Röbert, *Nashville and Her Trade for 1870,* p. 10, for the two quotes.

2. "The Honored Past" derives from Röbert, and manuscript Narrative History of Smyrna Air Base (now Sewart Air Force Base). Data on Confederate cemeteries from *Tennessee Histori-*

cal Markers. "This Was the City" mainly derives from Röbert, the section "The Change," from Killebrew and Stafford, *op. cit.*, "Continuity," from *ibid.*, including the names, and much of the material in the section "Milestones" from *Firsts in Nashville.* Information about Dury from Still Picture Section, National Archives. The Nashville Centennial is based on McRaven's account, *op. cit.*

3. From Röbert, p. 43.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 470.

Chapter Thirteen

1. Sources used in this chapter include: Nashville, Chamber of Commerce, *Manual,* Nashville Land Improvement Company, *West Nashville* (1887), G. M. Hopkins Co., *Atlas of the City of Nashville,* Tennessee, 1889 (new edition in 1889), *Nashville in the 1880's,* Reprint of map issued in 1958 as souvenir of 75th anniversary of the First American National Bank of Nashville, *Nashville, an Illustrated Review of its Progress and Importance, 188–?, Centennial Album of Nashville, Tennessee, 1896, Historical Hand-Book and Official Guide to Nashville, 1898,* Nashville *American Cumberland Almanac, 1896, Art Album of the Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition,* Mary S. Fry, *Tennessee Centennial Poem,* Annie Somers Gilchrist, *A Souvenir of the Tennessee Centennial,* Charles Mitchell, *Condensed Statement of Mortality in the City of Nashville, for the years 1879–1884, Our Day* (periodical), Jan., 1883–1884, and *Chat,* Dec. 2, 1893—Jan. 12, 1896. The latter, edited at various times by R. L. Burch, S. K. Gowan, G. C. Grissam, and others, was one of the most interesting magazines published in the history of Nashville. The details of the visit of the McKinleys derive from Herman Justi, ed., *Official History of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition,* and press coverage; the railroad connection is indicated in Jesse C. Burt, A History of the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railway, 1872–1916 (Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1950), which also includes audited data as to attendance.

Chapter Fourteen

1. This chapter reworks material found in my History of the NC&StL to some extent, but also incorporates data found in the Tennessee's Central's own Magazine, *The Highballer,* which ran

a history of the Baxter enterprise in 1956, and also reflects data given the author by descendants of Jere Baxter and by some of his close friends.

Chapter Fifteen

1. The late Thomas A. Clarkson, long-time secretary of the former NC&StL, made a careful transcription of the speeches given at the "Old Guard" meetings, and had them bound as a book. Mr. Clarkston allowed me to transcribe such selections from these minutes as I wished, with the privilege of publishing them. What has become of the Old Guard papers, as well as certain other NC&StL historical records, since its absorption by the L&N, I could not guess. All the quotations in this chapter are from the transcription I made a few years ago, and which Mr. Clarkson checked against his.

Chapter Sixteen

1. The language of the citations is from Guy H. May and Fred D. Estes, eds., *History of the American Legion, Department of Tennessee, 1919–1933*. Other names and facts about them and details on the bond drives are from Rose L. Gilmore, *Davidson County Women in the World War, 1914–1919*. A source of rich interest is Col. Luke Lea's unpublished, The Kaiser Story, donated to the Tennessee Historical Society by Mrs. Luke Lea in 1958; I am indebted to Mr. Robert T. Quarles, Jr., for calling this to my attention, and also to Miss Jim McEwen, for supplying certain background information, and to my former students, Webb C. Rizor, Jeanne Martin, and William Shaw for obtaining oral information, through interviews, which could be used to convey the spirit of the times.

Chapter Seventeen

1. The statement by W. Scott Fitzgerald appears in the foreword of the New Directions Paperback edition of *The Crack-Up*.

2. Sources used particularly in this chapter include *Nashville This Week*, Vols. 1–7, July 27, 1925—Sept. 27, 1930, Programs of the Nashville Symphony, and the Nashville *Banner* and the Nashville *Tennessean*.

3. Benjamin Franklin Wilson, III, *The Parthenon at Athens, Greece and at Nashville, Tennessee*.

4. The section, "Inevitably, Prohibition," reflects use of oral

material obtained in interviews, the results of which were written down, and are now in my files. Because of the nature of the topic, I do not here reveal names of persons interviewed—nor of several other persons who supplied much material about Nashville in the twenties, as they remembered it. One of these persons on three occasions gave better than nine hours to sharing data and recollections.

5. Drs. Boyd and Townsend died in the spring of 1959 and this section is based on obituary accounts.

6. The Nashville *Banner,* Nov. 27, 1927.

7. Statements about President Payne and Chancellor and Mrs. Kirkland are from a variety of sources, including Edwin Mims' biography of Kirkland (about the iris, and other data).

8. Rob Roy Purdy, ed., *Fugitives' Reunion, Conversations at Vanderbilt,* John M. Bradbury, *The Fugitives, A Critical Account.*

9. No other nation has such a history of commercial broadcasting as the U. S. A., thus giving "The Opry" world renown.

10. The Cheek-Neal transaction is as given in *Moody's Industrials,* 1935, p. 2265.

11. The anniversary of Hills was noted in the Nashville Banner, December 5, 1930.

12. The story of Caldwell and Company is from John Berry McFerrin, *Caldwell and Company, A Southern Financial Empire.*

13. The appointment of Randall Jarrell to the *Echo* is in Nashville *Banner,* Nov. 2, 1930.

Chapter Eighteen

1. I have used here data found in McRaven and other sources as basic material, arranging it, and drawing conclusions from it according to my own viewpoint. I am indebted to Miss Bettye Bell, Reference Librarian, Nashville Public Library, for allowing use of material on the presidential visits which I would not otherwise have seen. This material, usually clippings, is arranged by presidential visits.

Chapter Nineteen

1. Personal Journal kept by author, Gene H. Sloan, *With Second Army Somewhere in Tennessee,* Adjutant General's Office, *The Military March of Time in Tennessee,* unpublished Narrative History of Smyrna Air Base, *Armour* Magazine, and others are the sources for this chapter.

Chapter Twenty

I am much obliged to Mr. Ed Shea for critically reviewing, checking, and supplying basic data for this chapter, including the contemporary items, also to Mr. Forrest Reed, Dr. William Alderson, Mr. Bill Maples, authority on country music, and to Mayor Ben West's office personnel. The contemporary quotes and statistics are from Chamber of Commerce material; the eloquent remark by Gov. Taylor is from Justi's book on the Centennial.

Bibliographic Essay

1. *Unprinted Sources.* In addition to the basic collections composed of the papers of Jackson, Polk, and Johnson, there are items of interest for the student of Nashville in the Sherman Papers, Manuscript Division, U. S. Library of Congress. One may also consult with profit the Shelby Family Papers, the Andrew Jackson Donelson Papers, and a few William Walker items at the same institution. A unique source of great value, but requiring much time in use, due to the sheer mass of materials, is the Federal Quartermaster Papers for the period 1862–65, Tennessee Historical Society. The C. D. Elliott Collection and various other collections held by the Society were consulted. This book appears to have made new use of certain courthouse records, notably the Davidson County Marriage Record Books, but this source is meaningless unless the researcher has staked out tentative goals in advance, and also has a definite list of names.

2. *Photographs.* The collections of the Tennessee State Library and Archives, as pertaining to Nashville, were examined, as were the holdings of the Nashville Chamber of Commerce, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives, also the Tennessee Historical Society.

3. *Works of Art; Historical Objects.* Visits to the Hermitage, Belle Meade, Traveler's Rest, City Cemetery, Stone's River Battlefield, Shiloh, Forts Donelson and Henry, Chickamauga, and others were useful. The Parthenon and its art collections, the Dean Cornwell murals, State Office Building, the Tennes-

see State Capitol, the Tennessee State Museum, the inner lobby of the Tennessee Theater, and various art exhibits and art festivals were extremely useful. The scholarly and interesting writings of Hugh Walker in the Nashville *Tennessean* often give the reader clear directions on how to get to a historic object, neighborhood, or site in the area.

4. *Newspapers.* Excellent holdings of Nashville's papers are at the Nashville Public Library, and the Tennessee State Library and Archives. Files of Louisville papers were examined at the Public Library of that city.

5. *Local serial publications.* As a general rule for evaluating Nashville's bibliography, the statement may be made to the effect that it is extensive. Particularly is this true of local imprints. Among serial publications used productively were *South-Western Monthly* (1852), *Chat* (1893–96), *Nashville Review* (1919–22), *Nashville This Week* (1925–30), *This Week in Nashville* (1933–54), and the State publication *Tennessee Conservationist.* Files of the Tennessee Central *Highballer* Magazine, and the old Hume-Fogg's *Echo* (not complete) were consulted, the latter particularly useful for the late 1920's.

Along with these and other continuing sources, should be listed those of various departments of the City of Nashville, court opinions bearing on the city, traffic studies and surveys (often full of geographical data and details on the city's expected growth), of course City Directories, 1853—, and the like.

6. *Biography.* Good biographies lighten the researcher's burdens; and my indebtedness to a long list of writers of biography is rather large. Examples are provided by lives of Felix Grundy, George Washington Campbell, George Peabody, Chancellor Kirkland, Jessie Benton Fremont, Philip Lindsley, the presidents and political leaders who have visited Nashville, generals, noted local clergy, and institutions, notably Christ Episcopal Church and First Presbyterian Church. William Walker, John Berrien Lindsley, J. D. B. DeBow Abram Ryan, John Trotwood Moore are among persons identified with Nashville whose lives have been related by the

biographer. And, obviously, the lives and special studies of Polk, Johnson, and Jackson, with their bibliographical suggestions, may not be overlooked by any student of this area, as is the instance with Dr. Dan Robison's definitive study of Gov. Robert L. Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt. Clayton's *History of Davidson County* yields much useful biographical data, as do the two packets of obituaries, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Library Division, tentatively entitled "In Memoriam" by Miss Isabel Howell. All, or virtually all, the many histories of Middle Tennessee's counties have data on individual leaders as does the sometimes overlooked, but useful source, Tennessee Supreme Court Reports, for biographies of chief justices and justices. Alfred Crabb's 1941 Peabody thesis, The Nashville Literary Societies, is a source yielding biographical data, unique and valuable, for the ante-bellum period, by the son of a distinguished novelist. Dr. Crabb's novels are full of biographical information, as is McFerrin's study of *Caldwell and Company*. *Who's Who in America*, for various years, and other publications of the same order, were consulted as was *Dictionary of American Biography*, The Nashville *Blue Book* (1916), and others. Mention must be made of Col. A. S. Colyar's sketch of Judge Haywood, in the introduction to the latter's best-known history, and of Judge Guild's superb *Early Times in Tennessee*, and also the reprint, with foreward by Hugh Walker, of John Carr's famed sketch of pioneer days in Middle Tennessee, Judge Matthew's somewhat disappointing biography of James Robertson, and brief sketches of Mary Virginia French, and lives of M. F. Maury.

7. *Special Studies.* These include master's and doctor's theses at Vanderbilt and George Peabody College; and also the University of Tennessee. I have listed in the section on notes and references my obligations to graduate students, but might add here that I read with pleasure the following University of Tennessee theses at the University Library in Knoxville: Willard M. Hays, Andrew Johnson's Reputation, A Study of Changing Interpretations (1958), Maurice J. Danner, The Nashville Livestock Market (1949), Mary Ozelle Bible, The Post-Presidential Career of Andrew Johnson

(1936), Frank Merritt, Selected Aspects of Early Carter County History, 1760–1861 (1930), V. Madison Queener, The Pre-Civil War Life of William G. Brownlow (1930), Wallace R. Rogers, A History of the Administration of William Carroll, Governor of Tennessee (1925), Grace V. Hyde, A Bibliographical Checklist of Nashville Imprints, 1867–76 (1953), Cecil Clarence Humphreys, History of the Reelfoot Lake Region (1938), John Ray Crittenden, The Public Life of James C. Jones (1927), William Scott Blair, The Topographical Influences on the Campaigns in Middle and West Tennessee during the First Year of the Civil War (1953). Also useful was "Fisk University Theses, 1917–1942," a 29 page bibliography, compiler not given.

Special studies which added greatly to my knowledge of Nashville included A. Elizabeth Taylor's account of the woman suffrage movement in Tennessee, Lewis C. Hunter's sparkling *Steamboats on Western Waters,* Henry Lee Swint's discussion of the Northern teacher in the South, and others.

8. *Standard histories and accounts, general and specific.* The best listing of essential, printed materials is the recent *A Guide to the Study and Reading of Tennessee History,* by William T. Alderson and Robert H. White, far more useful than a static listing of titles, but a high quality winnowing from hundreds of items, plus an expert topical presentation by two authorities. General works can be neglected only at the risk of thin discussion: even though they are general, such histories as Channing, McMaster, Rhodes, and more-or-less special works by F. J. Turner, F. Merk on Oregon, Walter Millis on the martial spirit, F. L. Paxson, S. F. Bemis, E. C. Corwin, Charles Warren, A. M. Schlesinger, Sr., and Jr., were helpful, as were histories of Athens, Memphis, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Louisville, and Washington, D. C.

9. *Maps and atlases.* The present book has consulted many maps and atlases for the city of Nashville, as well as numerous maps and atlases for Tennessee. Tennessee's maps for 1783, 1799, 1806, and 1816 have been attractively reproduced as one large map, which may be consulted at the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

10. *Turning points, big moments, special events, etc.* This is an elastic heading, which refers to such matters as the battle of New Orleans, financial panics, fires and disasters, health problems, clubs, banks, the Nashville livestock market, the Nashville press, Nashville artists, the Tennessee Centennial and others. Here some persistence and imagination are useful; and a realization of the value of a library card catalog, as well as use of chronology. The catalogs at the Tennessee State Library and the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. were fountainheads of inspiration and insight during the preparation of this book. Few instrumentalities are more useful to the researcher than a card catalog.

11. *Topics.* Once the student has familiarized himself with the standard accounts and general histories (to help discern significance, the heart of the matter) then he may develop his topics, if he desires. In my case, they included the area's natural history, the North Carolina relationship, literature, intellectual history, general social development, banking, politics, and economic development, among others. The *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* and its predecessors are indispensable, as are Dr. White's *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee*, and his studies of education, L. S. Merriam's account of higher education in Tennessee, the writings of Samuel Cole Williams, A. L. Crabb, Stanley Horn, Robert Selph Henry, and others.

12. *Local Newspaper Accounts.* The Nashville *Tennessean's* Sunday *Magazine*, under the editorship of the late William Kingsbury, and more recently that of Allen Pettus, has published many articles about the history of Nashville. The only continuing index to the *Magazine* of which I know is in the Reference Department, Joint University Library.

13. *Promotional Literature.* There is no dearth of such material; and some of it is significant, such as James Hall's 1801 *Brief History of the Mississippi Territory*, published in Salisbury, N. C. Some of the travel writing is vaguely akin to this type of material; and there is a continuing bibliography on travel writing now undergoing publication. In my opinion, this type of material must be used sparingly; for, like too much de-

pendence on newspapers, a thinness of realization may result, if a variety of materials, including the secondary ones, are rejected in favor of purely primary or contemporary ones. But this is an involved problem.

14. *Recollections and Reminiscences.* Many were used in this rather inexact heading: those of Miss Jane Thomas, Miss Lizzie Porterfield Elliott, Randal McGavock, J. Berrien Lindsley's *Annals of the Army of Tennessee,* Octavia Zollicoffer Bond, Elizabeth Avery Meriwether (for background), the Blount Journal (covering 1790–1796), Kenneth D. McKellar, Aaron V. Brown's collected speeches (1854), John B. McFerrin's 1874 history of Methodism in Tennessee, Mrs. Julia Morgan, John C. Ferris on the work with the development of the Protestant Orphanage; Obadiah Jennings (1832), Samuel D. Baldwin's *Armaggedon,* and other members of the Nashville clergy. There is definite need for a bibliography of Nashville memoirs and recollections, which would reflect familiarity with the developing lists of the libraries of The Methodist Publishing House and of the Southern Baptist Convention. Broadman Press has recently published a useful *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists,* which may be used in this connection; and the Tennessee Department of Agriculture is another likely source, as, for instance, data on Mark Cockrill.

15. *A Nashville Miscellany.* Most classifications smack of the arbitrary and the artificial, causing unavoidable regret; and "miscellany" is one of these. However, this category is by no means the tag-end of this essay, for it includes such treasures as the original Ledger for the Building of the Nashville Bridge, beginning June 28, 1819, with names, expenditures, contracts, etc., Tennessee Historical Society, and Daniel Smith's *A Short History of the Tennessee Government or the Territory South of the River Ohio, to accompany and explain a map of that country* (1803), *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* likewise for the respective Navies, Moore's *Rebellion Record,* multi vols., numerous works of fiction, poetry, and prose touching upon Nashville, Tennessee Senate and House Journals, including Appendices, Frank Randolph Robertson Smith, *Alphabetical List of the Dead in*

the City Cemetery (1909), M. V. Ingram, *An Authenticated History of the Bell Witch* (1894), and others on that subject. Also included are Ruby Ethel Cundiff, *Nashville, Past and Present, Portrayed in Books* (1936), Paul Popenoe and R. J. Johnson, *Applied Eugenics* (1920), for mention of Nashville's remarkable output of genius, numerous pamphlets at the Tennessee State Library and Archives, the sheet music collection there, also its Scrapbooks and the Tennessee Historical Society's Hueja Collection (A. Jackson), the *Confederate Veteran,* and index compiled by this research facility, and a rewarding variety of other materials, including county history, genealogical works, etc.

16. *Placing Nashville.* Such series as Moody's railroads, Investments, Industrials are useful in determining Nashville's place. Jameson's study of the Revolution as a social movement was suggestive; and helpful indeed were Vol. XXIV of Walter Clark's compilation of *The State Records of North Carolina,* covering 1777–78, and the 1794 imprint, *Acts of the General Assembly of North Carolina, 1715–90,* Henry D. Whitney's indispensable *The Land Laws of Tennessee,* and cooperative Histories of the South, the Nation, and American Life, several histories of Tennessee, *e.g.* Haywood, Hamer, Moore and Foster, *et al.,* textbooks, etc. A list of Manuscripts on Microfilms in Manuscript Section, Archives Division, Tennessee State Library and Archives, with Additions to Manuscripts on Microfilms During the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1959, was helpful in a number of particulars, being full in detail, interestingly prepared, and indicative of many aspects of this area's history. Mention might well be made of the fact that the Tennessee State Library compiles an annual series called "A List of Tennessee State Publications," which is the record of publications issued by the State of Tennessee. The State Library contemplates publication of the State Bibliography from 1796 to the beginning of the present series. The first step in this retrospective work was Preliminary Check-List of Tennessee Legislative Documents. The second, an index to Tennessee Senate and House Journal Appendices, is in preparation.

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"Nashville is a city with an unusually interesting story," Dr. Burt says. Deeply researched and easy to read, NASHVILLE, ITS LIFE AND TIMES is the author's second published book.